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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

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CONFIDENTIAL.

# Correspondence respecting Morocco.

## Part II.

### No. 1.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 14, 1859, 10·40 A.M.

CONTINUE to press the French Government to instruct the French Minister at Madrid to speak in the sense of the following telegram sent the night before last to Buchanan :—

"Press upon the Spanish Government that as Moorish Government have acceded to the ultimatum at first sent in, or, at all events, as we and the Moors understood it, the Spaniards would be acting in a most unjustifiable manner if they began hostilities before the Emperor of Morocco had had time to consider and answer the new demand for a rayon round Ceuta, and strongly urge Spanish Government to give time for negotiation on this point.

"Desire Mr. Hay strongly to advise Moorish Government to give way on this point. Send him the following figures :—

"'Strongly advise Moorish Government to give way on new demands for a rayon round Ceuta. Say that the mere extent of ground asked for is in itself utterly insignificant as a portion of the Moorish Empire, and that the possession of it could not give the Spaniards any real additional means of attacking Morocco, if they should be at any time inclined to do so; while, on the other hand, the Spanish possession of this bit of ground might, by keeping the neighbouring tribes further away from Ceuta, prevent many small occasions of difference, which, whenever they happen, inevitably tend to create embarrassing questions between Spain and Morocco.'"

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### No. 2.

*Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 15.)

(No. 641.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 14, 1859.

YOUR Lordship's telegram of 10·15 this morning did not reach me until after I had seen Count Walewski; but during the interview which I had with his Excellency this morning, I had again urged him to do all in his power to prevent the Spanish Government from making the acceptance by the Moorish Government, on or before the 15th instant, of the territorial question a *sine quâ non* to the prevention of hostilities. Count Walewski assured me that he had instructed M. Barrot as he had promised, but that he regretted to find, from a communication which he had this morning received from that Ambassador, that there was no chance of bringing the Spanish Ministers to reason, who seemed to

think that their existence as a Government depended on not retracting or delaying any of their demands on Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

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No. 3.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(No. 417.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 15, 1859.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that the French Ambassador, who called upon me at the Foreign Office this afternoon, repeated to me the assurance given to your Excellency by Count Walewski, as reported in your despatch No. 625 of the 12th October,* that the French squadron was sent to the Straits of Gibraltar merely for the protection of French subjects, in the event of their being endangered by hostilities breaking out between Spain and Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 4.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 18, 1859, 7·35 P.M.

WE have had information from British Minister at Madrid to the effect that Spain is supposed to require an extension of ten miles of territory near Ceuta. This extension would, in our opinion, give Spain the command of the passage of the Straits. All maritime nations are interested in this question, and we hope French Government will join us in remonstrance against Spanish design.

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No. 5.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(No. 444.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 20, 1859.

I MUST request as early an answer as can be obtained from the French Government on the subject of Morocco.

It is possible that Count Walewski may not appreciate the whole importance of the question.

Her Majesty's Government have never contested the right of the Spanish Government to obtain redress for the injuries and insults suffered from the Moors by the garrison of Ceuta. But it does not follow that Spain should obtain permanent possession of Tangier, or that the new boundary at Ceuta should be extended in such a manner as, in connection with the opposite coast of Spain, to command the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar.

With respect to the first of these questions, we have obtained satisfactory assurances from the Government of Spain; but on the second we have not yet received any satisfactory explanation.

We do not know whether it is proposed to extend the rayon of the fortress of Ceuta one mile, or ten miles. A rayon of one mile, or two miles, from the fortress, might be a reasonable security for Ceuta. An extension of territory to a distance of ten miles would give Spain no greater security for her fortress, but would enable her to command the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar.

This would take place not by a cross-fire from one shore to the other, which, however, the progressive improvements in artillery might render possible, but on account of the necessity which sailing vessels working against the current are under of approaching very near to the one shore or to the other. If both shores were to be Spanish territory, the passage into and out of the Mediterranean would be too much under the control of one Power.

* See Part I, Appendix, No. 25.



The importance of this question to Great Britain is obvious; but it surely cannot be a matter of indifference to the Emperor of the French.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 6.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 21, 8·45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 21, 1859, 3·30 P.M.

PRESIDENT of Council has stated in Congress that Morocco has refused just demands of Spain. Spanish Consul at Tangier has been withdrawn, and Government will, in a short time declare to the Chambers the course they propose to adopt. Six batteries of artillery left this morning to be embarked at Alicante.

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No. 7.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 22, 3·30 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 21, 1859, 7·15 P.M.

I ADDRESSED an official letter this morning to the Foreign Minister, respecting the extent of ground which would be included in new boundary, and have had a long interview with him since. I said that England would never consent to a line which would include Point Bermeja, the village , to the westward of Ceuta; but I could understand the narrow neck between that Point and the Isthmus included in the works, being added to the Spanish territory, without any opposition on her part. The answer to my note will be decided to-night in the Council, and I expect it early to-morrow. I think it not improbable, from what passed to-day, that a declaration may be made not to pass the above-mentioned Point, on condition that Her Majesty's Government will not throw further difficulties in the way of Spain.

The Foreign Minister declares that the Moorish Government gave no answer to that part of the note which referred to the manner in which satisfaction was to be given, and thus much are able to go to war on the point of national honour.

From the Queen to the Majo, they are all crazy in the desire to show what their army can do.

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No. 8.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 22, 7·15 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 21, 1859, *midnight.*

I HAVE just received the following numbers from Mr. Hay, dated October 20:—

"Your Lordship's telegram of the 18th received last night. I saw the Minister this morning.

"The Minister replied on the 17th, to the new demand for Bullones, that he must refer it to the Sultan. I told the Minister what the Spanish Government said to your Lordship about the distance. He asked if I would become guarantee. I replied, No. The Minister said the assurances given by Spanish Government, and the Chargé d'Affaires through me, had so often been broken, that he would not, as heretofore, accede to my counsels unless I became guarantee. The Minister declared two and a-half miles from the walls of the town (could not be?) taken into consideration. Present distance is about one and a quarter miles. The Minister said no rayon which included Moorish castle for guards could be accepted without reference to the Sultan, and he did not believe His Majesty would agree. The Minister added, far from extension of rayon beyond that preventing annoyance of Moors, it would be the commence-

ment of a series of endless conflicts. That is also my conviction. Look at Spanish map, and measure the distance of Bullones, to test the assurance of the Spanish Minister.

"Large force of troops expected immediately. Moors enthusiastic for war: will revolt if the Sultan yields the Castle. Christians and Jews leaving. Scarcely any property left in Tangier. If the Spanish Government desires an arrangement, they must no longer indulge in ambiguous expressions, but state clearly the distance they require, and give a guarantee that they will not again break faith."

I have communicated of the foregoing by letter to the Foreign Minister, and stated that both Hay and Moorish Minister regard the Moorish Government as engaged to grant complete satisfaction for offences.

Though there is really now no cause for war, I have no hope of its being avoided.

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No. 9.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 22, 10·57 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 22, 1859, 3 P.M.

IN making declaration of war, Marshal O'Donnell recapitulated course of causes and negotiations, justifying determination of Government by the evasive answer to Spanish demand respecting mode of granting satisfaction, and by Moorish Minister referring to the Sultan after representing himself to have full-powers. The additional cost now, (but) if Moors would accede to demands (and) pay indemnity for expenses incurred, war would be averted.

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No. 10.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 22, 10·57 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 22, 1859, 3 P.M.

I DID not receive your Lordship's telegram of yesterday till midnight, as your telegrams come through France very slowly. I hesitated to execute the instructions it contained after the hope held out to me of a favourable answer to my note of yesterday; but as your Lordship had included in your demand the right of the Sultan to time for examination of the new Spanish demands, and did not mention my suggestion that I should have discretionary powers to present the protest respecting territory, and as it was intended to declare war to-day, I did not feel that I could act on my own discretion, not knowing how far Her Majesty's Government are prepared to go, if their demand for time is rejected.

I fear it is impossible to prevent war, and that the answer may be arrogant and offensive respecting the statement made by your Lordship as to the influence hitherto exercised by Her Majesty's Government. They will also pretend that the Moorish Minister having passed in silence in his last note their demand for a distinct engagement respecting the manner of punishing the offenders at , and the (restoring?) the Spanish flag by the Moors, had rendered his answer unacceptable.

War just declared in Senate, and received unanimous support.

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No. 11.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24.)

(No. 35.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 11, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant,* directing me to press on the Moorish Government the acceptance of the limitation of Ceuta required by Spain.

Your Lordship will have learnt by the despatches I have had the honour

* See Part I, No. 209.



of addressing your Lordship in the beginning of this month, that I had forestalled the instructions contained in this telegram.

I have the honour to inclose copies of a telegram I have received from Mr. Buchanan, and of one I have addressed to his Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S., October 12.—I further inclose a telegram I sent this morning, by Her Majesty's ship "Redpole," to Gibraltar, for transmission to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid.

J. H. D. H.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 10, 1859.

I HAVE received your despatch of yesterday.

Your utmost endeavours should be used to close discussion before 15th. I have asked for delay and explanations as to the extension of territory demanded, but I am told my letter requires decision of Council, which may not meet to-morrow on account of the Queen's birthday. Sultan should, by immediate action, deprive President of Council of any pretext for satisfying his ambitious views in Africa. War party are anxious for His Majesty's refusal.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 11, 1859.

FROM good authority I learn Spanish Chargé d'Affaires talks of embarking and awaiting on board of a Spanish ship of war the answer of Sultan. It is said he received late orders to that effect from his Government, and that if all demands are not accepted before the 15th war will commence.

Minister expects, on the 15th, Sultan's answer, and that it will be favourable. If answer does not come from the Court by that time, Minister has consented, at my advice, to accept all demands in name of Sultan, but this must be kept secret from Spanish Government.

I conclude, after acceptance of all demands, reasonable time will be given to Sultan to execute his promises.

Telegraph to Foreign Office.

Telegram of 8th received, also that of 10th.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 11.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 12, 1859, 6 A.M.

MOORISH Minister has not received Sultan's answer about new demand of 5th October, but has full powers to settle all demands, and wrote yesterday to Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to say all their demands are acceded to, and to ask when he wishes to carry them into execution.

I hope all excuse for commencement of hostilities is now removed.

Telegraph to Foreign Office.

P.S.—Telegram of 10th reached me last night. No cross-fire of rifled cannon between territory now ceded at Ceuta and Tarifa could command Strait; but if Spain conquers territory opposite to Tarifa, called Al-Cassar, distance between those two points is only nine miles.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 12.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 24.)*

(No. 36. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 11, 1859.

YESTERDAY evening I received information from a reliable source that, in consequence of recent instructions M. Blanco had received from Madrid, he was about to embark on board a Spanish vessel of war in the bay, to await there the decision of the Sultan. I was satisfied, from private information I had obtained, that M. Blanco was packing his effects, and had even gone so far as to tell a Member of a foreign Mission here, that he had better make his arrangements for leaving the country, as hostilities would commence on the 18th instant.

Last night, as I have already reported to Mr. Hammond, in a private letter of this date, I had a long interview with the Moorish Minister. He assured me that this sudden resolution could not have proceeded from any act of his, for he had neither seen M. Blanco, nor written to him since the 6th instant, neither has any further conflict occurred at Ceuta, but on the contrary, strong measures had been taken by the local authorities, as far as it was in their power, to repress hostilities on the part of the mountaineer tribes.

This morning, the reports regarding M. Blanco's intention of embarking were confirmed, and, in order to get at the truth at once, I called on him at the early hour of 10 o'clock.

I told M. Blanco the object of my visit was to inquire, in consequence of the alarm and agitation which prevailed in the town, whether he intended to embark before the 15th instant. M. Blanco replied that he proposed embarking on board a vessel of war, and awaiting there the Sultan's answer, as no further delay could be admitted. I inquired whether this resolution had been taken in consequence of any act of the Moorish Minister. M. Blanco replied in the negative; but said he must obey the orders of his Government. I expressed my regret that any such step should be taken, especially at a moment when I felt almost persuaded all their demands would be settled, in a manner that would be satisfactory to the Spanish Government, if reasonable time was only given to the Sultan, to take into consideration all that had been represented to him.

I observed, moreover, that if the Spanish Government were determined to commence hostilities, even though the Sultan acceded to all the demands, that I hoped M. Blanco would give me timely notice, for I wished to take the necessary precautions for ensuring the safety of British subjects and their property, in this country.

M. Blanco made no further reply than to repeat he should embark on board one of the Spanish ships of war, and wait to see whether the Moorish Government accepted the demands, and carried into execution their engagements.

Being convinced, from all I have observed in the conduct and language of the Spanish Government, throughout their differences with Morocco, that they desire an excuse to commence hostilies, I determined to remove, at once, as far as it was in my power, all possible excuse, if the Moorish Minister would listen to my advice, and thus prevent even this preliminary act of a rupture, viz., the embarkation of the Spanish Representative.

Immediately after my interview with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, I called on the Moorish Minister. I related to him what had taken place between me and M. Blanco. I made known to him the contents of the telegram I had received from Mr. Buchanan of the 10th instant, and, in fact, I worked upon his mind in such a manner that Khateeb consented to do whatever I might recommend.

The Moorish Minister has not received, and, indeed, has not had time to receive, an answer from the Moorish Court to the letters he has sent regarding the construction the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires has put on his ultimatum of the 5th September, in his letter of the 5th instant; but Khateeb had, to my knowledge, received, yesterday, a letter from the Vizier, in which the latter informed him that, with reference to the Sultan's acceptance of the ultimatum of the 5th September, His Majesty depended upon Khateeb, who, from his knowledge of



what had passed, and communications with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires and myself, could best judge what to do to bring about a satisfactory arrangement.

I insisted with Khateeb that this was equivalent to giving him full powers, and that, if the Sultan afterwards blamed his conduct, he might throw the whole responsibility upon myself for having advised, and even insisted, upon immediate concession. Khateeb accepted my counsels, and, before half-past 11, he addressed a letter to the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, of which the inclosed is a translation.

To prevent even the possibility of the Spanish Government finding an excuse to break off relations, because the Moorish Government had not evinced any disposition to carry into execution the demands, as well as to accept them, Khateeb, as will be observed, even asks M. Blanco when he wishes the satisfaction to be given.

If M. Blanco fixes a period before a force of the Sultan's Body Guard arrives, I fear the local authorities will find some difficulty in chastising the Angerites; but, under existing circumstances, I did not look to what was most convenient, but to what was most requisite.

When the Spanish Government have signified their satisfaction with the contents of the Minister's letter, the Bokhary Guards may, I trust, have arrived from the Court, or M. Blanco may be disposed to await a few days their arrival. Come to the worst, the local authorities must collect the forces they can to carry into execution all that has been promised.

Khateeb, when he sent the letter, had the prudence to send a message to M. Blanco to ask if he wished for any modification or alteration, but none has been asked, and M. Blanco will, I believe, send a steamer express to Algeciras to-night to ask for telegraphic instructions from Madrid. I shall also send a telegram to Mr. Buchanan, but I shall not mention, even in cypher, all that has taken place; for I think it politic that the Spanish Government should not know that this step of Khateeb's proceeds from the advice I have given, but that they should suppose it is a spontaneous act of the Moorish Government.

I trust, my Lord, that my conduct in the present very critical and peculiar state of affairs will meet with your Lordship's approbation. I will not, however, conceal from your Lordship that I expect the Spanish Government will yet endeavour to find an excuse, or to discover a pretext, for declaring war against Morocco.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure in No. 12.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

(Translation.) *October* 11, 1859.

BE it known to you that we have received, yesterday, a letter from our Lord the Sultan, empowering us with full powers to settle the demands that you have put forward, in a friendly manner and in accordance with your wishes. The answer from the Sultan to the explanations you had given us in your letter of the 5th October (upon these demands) had not reached His Majesty, for an answer could not be received at the present date, in so short a time as has elapsed, of which you must be aware; but since His Majesty has granted us full powers, we do not wait for His Majesty's reply. We have, therefore, to beg that you will inform us when you desire that the demands, which are stated in your letters of the 5th September and 5th October, should be carried into execution, and they shall be accomplished as engaged, and friendship and harmony will be renewed between the two Governments.

Peace. (Signed) SEID MOHAMED KHATEEB.

No. 13.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell*—(*Received October* 24.)

(No. 37.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 13, 1859.

I SENT Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, yesterday, the inclosed telegram, and requested him to forward it to the Foreign Office; so your Lordship will have been informed that, notwithstanding the fact of the Moorish Minister having accepted the new demand put forward by the Spanish Government to raise fortifications on the territory which had been expressly allotted for the pasturage of cattle in the Convention of 1845, and that the Moorish Minister had also agreed to the demarkation of a new neutral ground, and to enter into a Convention specifying these grants, M. Blanco continued to make preparations to embark.

This morning, at daybreak, I received the accompanying note from Seid Mohamed Khateeb, reporting what had taken place in an interview he had with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires at a late hour last night. In compliance with his request, I called on the Minister this morning. He then told me the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires had now put a fresh construction on his ultimata of the 5th September and of the 5th October, and demanded not only the right of the Spanish Government to erect fortifications on the "campo" and territory for pasturage of cattle, but also on any contiguous heights beyond the lines, which they, the Spaniards, might consider to be necessary for the defence or convenience of the garrison. Now, whatever may have been the language latterly held by the Spanish Ministry to Mr. Buchanan regarding an extension of territory, their Representative here had not made any clear demand to that effect until last night, but had confined himself to insisting on the word "campo," as having included the pasturage ground, and that fortifications should therefore be raised thereupon; but as the question of what is just in this negotiation to be demanded is no longer to be considered, as hostilities would be commenced by Spain on the slightest pretext, and as your Lordship's instructions by telegram of the 8th instant authorized me to do so, I pressed in the strongest manner upon the Moorish Minister the necessity of making even this further important concession.

It was a painful task for me to persuade the timid and trembling Minister, as he has not yet received the Sultan's answer, even to the second ultimatum; and I did not succeed until I declared that, if hostilities commenced, I would make known to the Sultan that he (Khateeb) was solely to blame for not having listened to my counsels; whilst, I added, if he accepted the demand, I would address him, to-morrow, a strong letter, which would convince the Sultan he had acted by my advice.

As Khateeb had not, at the time I paid him this matinal visit, received any written communication from M. Blanco on that subject, and as I was desirous of learning from the latter what were his intentions if the new demand was not complied with, I called upon him.

My interference being, under present circumstances, solely officious, and not official, I, of course, refrained from making any formal remonstrance against the conduct of the Spanish Government, confining myself rather to friendly observations, and showing that my frequent visits to him did not proceed from mere curiosity, but from an anxious desire to facilitate the course of the negotiation.

I admitted to M. Blanco that a passage in his letter of the 3rd October, to Seid Mohamed Khateeb, might, perhaps, allow of a wide construction being put upon its terms, when he spoke of the "heights convenient for the security" of Ceuta; but I drew his attention to two passages in his letter of a later date, namely, the 5th October, wherein he says: "The territory comprised, in all its extent, within the boundary line that separates the Spanish ground from the Moorish." And again, when commenting on the third demand, M. Blanco had written: "In the territory of Ceuta; that is to say, within the boundary line which separates the said fortress from the Moorish territory."

M. Blanco did not combat the proofs I gave him that this demand had been an after-thought of the Spanish Government, but merely replied that it was his duty to execute blindly the instructions from his Government, and that he



declared to me, in the most formal manner, if the Moorish Government did not give way this day, he would withdraw, and hostilities would commence.

Later in the day, Khateeb received from M. Blanco a note, of which the inclosed documents are a copy and a translation.

I had another interview with Khateeb, and, after considerable difficulty, I prevailed upon him to address a reply, of which the inclosed is a translation.

I have just learnt that M. Blanco has asked for a slight alteration in the wording, but it does not, I believe, affect the sense.

M. Blanco goes, I am told, in person, to-morrow, to Algeciras, to communicate with his Government by telegraph; but as he leaves his flag flying, to prove that relations are not broken off, and returns here in a day or two, I trust his departure will not produce any tumult in the town.

In a telegram from Mr. Buchanan, of the 10th, he states that your Lordship's instructions are, to inform me "that new boundary should not, after acceptance of ultimatum, be made a condition of peace;" but unfortunately, and, I may be permitted to add, as it has been made, unfairly, a condition, and as only a few hours have been given to the Moorish Minister for consideration, I thought I should be acting in accordance with your Lordship's views by assuming the responsibility I have done, in compelling the Sultan's Minister to yield for the third time. In common justice, I hope the Spanish Government will now give time to the Sultan's body-guard to arrive, to enforce upon the Angera people the concessions that have been made; for the sympathy of the neighbouring tribes, and of the militia troops of Tangier, is too much in favour of the Angerites to expect that they would be disposed to chastise their brethren for defending their territory from the alleged encroachments of the Spaniards.

I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a Memorandum of the interpreter, reporting further steps taken by the Sultan to prevent the renewal of hostilities between the Angerites and the Spaniards. It is a good proof of the sincerity of His Majesty. I must avow, however, that I have not the same confidence in the intentions of the Spanish Government, and I fear, if peace is finally made, it will be solely because they have been thwarted in finding a good pretext for going to war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I have not time this night to address the note I have promised to Seid Mohamed Khateeb, urging him to concede the new demand, and which he will transmit to the Sultan, as a proof that he followed my advice, and in palliation of his having assumed such a heavy responsibility.

I herewith inclose a copy of a telegram I this day addressed to your Lordship.

J. H. D. H.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 12, 1859, 10·30 A.M.

NOTWITHSTANDING acceptance of all Spanish demands, it is said Chargé d'Affaires continues to make preparations to leave.

I fear Spain is bent upon war, whatever concessions Sultan may make. I think some steps should be taken to put an end to so unjust a proceeding, and that, at any rate, they be not allowed to take Tangier, the gate of the Straits, and upon which Gibraltar depends.

Communicate this to Lord John Russell.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Translation.) 15 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 13, 1859.)

I HAVE to inform you that the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires came to us last night, and held language totally at variance with what had passed between us before, and he has put forward pretensions exceeding all the past. He said if I did not answer to-day, he will embark to-morrow. I am very anxious therefore to see you, so that I may relate to you all that has passed between us. It is impossible to satisfy these people. They ask for one thing, and say it is all; then we make every exertion to obtain from the Sultan the concession they ask for, and when obtained, they put forward, the day after the concession, another demand or interpretation of their words. This negotiation is not conducted by them to bring peace, but to produce war. We have such confidence in your judgment and sincerity that we relate to you all.

Peace. (Signed) SEID MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 13.

*Don Juan Blanco to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

*Tangier, á* 13 *de Octubre de* 1859.

OS felicito muy cordialmente de que vuestro Rey y Señor os haya revestido, segun me participais en vuestra lettera de 11 del actual, de plenos y amplos poderes para satisfacer las justas demandas del Gobierno de la Reyna mi augusta Soberana, y de que os halleis en consecuencia dispuesto á dar pronto y satisfactorio termino á una cuestion tan enojosa y que tanto se ha prolongado ya.

Pero al comunicarme la sabia decision de vuestro Monarca os figais solo en mis notas del 5 de Setiembre ultimo y 5 del presente mes, y pasais por alto la anterior del 3. en la que se encuentran precisamente los deseos de mi Gobierno, perfectamente espresados, en punto á la estension que ha de darse á los antiguos limites de la plaza de Ceuta, los cuales deberan, segun dicha comunicacion, ensancharse hasta las alturas mas convenientes para desahogo y seguridad de la referida fortaleza.

Aguardo en el dia de hoy vuestra respuesta tan clara y esplicita como corresponde y tengo derecho á esperar, despues de lo que me habeis asegurado en vuestra precitada nota di antes de ayer.

De lo contrario abandonaré inmediatamente este pais con todos los subditos Españoles.

Y la paz.

El Encargado de Negocios,
(Firmado) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

(Translation.)

*Tangier, October* 13, 1859.

WE congratulate you very cordially on your King and Master having re-invested you, as you tell me in your letter of the 11th instant, with full and ample powers to satisfy the just demands of the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign, and on your being consequently disposed to give a prompt and satisfactory termination to so disagreeable a question, and one which has already been prolonged so much.

In communicating to me, however, the wise decision of your Monarch, you confine yourself merely to my notes of the 5th September last and the 5th of the present month; and you pass over my former note of the 3rd, in which are found precisely the wishes of our Government fully expressed, and relating to the extension (of territory) which is yet to be added to the old boundary lines of the fortress of Ceuta, and which ought, according to the said communication, to extend as far as the heights most compatible with the comfort and security of the fortress in question.



I await this day an answer from you as clear and explicit as is due and I have a right to hope for, after you have assured me in your before-mentioned note of the day before yesterday.

Should your answer be of an opposite nature, I will leave the country immediately, with all Spanish subjects.

Peace.

The Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General of Her Catholic Majesty,
(Signed) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 13.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

(Translation.) 15 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 13, 1859.)

WE have received your letter of this day's date, in which you express your satisfaction that our Lord the Sultan has empowered us to accede to the demands which you had put forward in your two letters of the 5th September and the 5th October; but you say that we do not allude to the contents of your letter of the 3rd October, in which you speak of the "high places."

Know that we had always supposed, from the language of your letters, that these high places are within the limits of the "campo" and the territory for the pasturage of your cattle; for, in your letter of the 5th October, you speak of the right of your Government to do what it pleases in erecting fortifications within the aforesaid limits; and it also had appeared to us, from the language of persons who know the territory, that the high places are within the marked boundary lines; but should it be otherwise than we imagine, since we desire to remove every cause which might produce any injury or dissension between the two Governments, we accede that you may do what is necessary for the defence of your garrison, and for its extension as far as the high places, which are in the vicinity of your town of Ceuta, and that this be granted, as we have said before, for the defence and expanse of your town, and not on any other account.

Peace. (Signed) SEID MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 13.

*Memorandum.*

SEID MOHAMED KHATEEB has just told me, for Mr. Drummond Hay's information, that a Kaid, accompanied by eight soldiers, has arrived from the Sultan's Court, bearing a letter for the Pasha of Tangier, inclosing one for the Kabail of Angera, renewing His Majesty's orders that they be very careful not to interfere in any way with, or act hostilely towards, the Spaniards; and stating that if any question exists between the Spanish and Moorish Governments, the Taleb Seid Mohamed Khateeb has full powers to bring about an arrangement. The Kaid and soldiers in question, accompanied by another Kaid and twenty soldiers, from Tangier, as also by the Kaid of Reef, proceeded immediately to Angera to carry into execution the Sultan's orders; they are also the bearers of a letter from the great Shereef of Wazan to the Angerites, advising them to comply with the Sultan's orders.

(Signed) DAVID SICSU.

*October* 12, 1859.

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Inclosure 6 in No. 13.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 14, 1859, 10 A.M.

FRESH difficulty yesterday, in consequence of demand of Spain for new delimitation, including heights convenient to Ceuta for its defence, and threat to embark and commence war.

After much trouble I persuaded Moorish Minister to cede all.

I hope this is last demand.

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No. 14.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 22.)*

(No. 39.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 15, 1859.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 13th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith the translation of a letter I addressed the Moorish Minister, in accordance with his request, so as to enable him, on writing to the Sultan, to offer as an excuse for his having taken upon himself the responsibility of acceding to the demand for the extension of the Ceuta territory, that he had done so by my advice.

Your Lordship will, I trust, excuse the quaintness of the language of my note; but I dictated the letter in Arabic to my Secretary, and employed the language which I thought would be best adapted to have a salutary effect on the mind of the Sultan and his advisers.

With reference to that passage where I speak of the necessity of granting an increase of territory at Ceuta to secure the garrison from attack, I must avow, however, that my personal conviction is, the Spaniards are less likely to be attacked or molested by the Moors in their present lines than if they were extended. No Moorish force could ever take Ceuta; but the object of the Spanish Government is no doubt to secure Ceuta from attack by sea, in the case of war with an European Power.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a telegram I addressed to your Lordship this morning.

Your Lordship's telegram of the 13th reached me last night.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

*Mr. D. Hay to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

(Translation.) *October* 13, 1859.

I HAVE to repeat to you in writing the counsels I urged so strongly upon your attention in my interview of this morning, that the present demand of the Spanish Government to extend their rayon to the high ground near Ceuta, which may be necessary for ensuring that place from attack by sea or by land, should be granted at once.

I pointed out to you the very critical position of affairs, both with reference to the Spanish question and to other possible complications, and that this was not a moment when you should be deliberating whether the demand was a just one or not, for that this very day, if the demand be not acceded to, relations would be broken off, and hostilities commenced; and the question, therefore, now to be considered was, whether a small tract of barren land, of no use to the Moorish population, was to be ceded, or that war and all its horrors, the destruction of the Sultan's ports, the lives of thousands of men, and millions of property, were to be sacrificed, and with the risk, in the end, of being compelled to grant far greater concessions than those now asked.

I told you, moreover, very distinctly, that though the British Government continues to take a strong interest in the welfare of Morocco, of which many proofs have been given during the course of this negotiation; yet, if the Moorish Government prefers to go to war for such a trifling matter as this little piece of land, that you are not to suppose or expect for a moment the British Government will afford Morocco the slightest moral or physical support.

I said, that if the spark of war lighted, the conflagration might extend, and Morocco find itself enveloped on all sides; and therefore I urged, demanded, and insisted, that without discussion as to the right or wrong, you accede to the demand, and thus keep open the gates of peace, which no one but the Sultan should venture to close.

Now, God be praised, His Majesty the Sultan is following in the footsteps of his revered Sire, and I feel assured, from the tenour of the communications already received from the Court, that His Majesty seeks, by maintaining peaceful



relations with all countries, to promote and to insure the welfare of His Majesty's dominions.

His Majesty has told you, in one of his letters, that the man who witnesses an affray can better judge how to put a stop to it than the man who is absent. This remark is equivalent to giving you full powers to act as you think proper.

The cause of all this trouble has been the unruly conduct of the mountaineers of Angera, when they ventured to invade the Spanish territory. I am not surprised, therefore, that the Spaniards should demand such an extension of territory as may ensure them for the future from similar aggressions.

In conclusion, I have to repeat, concede at once the demand, and you will best serve the interests of the Sultan and of his subjects.

Peace. (Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell, October* 15, 1859 (*Telegraphic*).

[See Part I, No. 257.]

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No. 15.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 22.)*

(No. 447.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 13, 1859.

I REPORTED to your Lordship in my despatch No. 428 of the 6th instant,* that I had vainly endeavoured to induce M. Calderon Collantes to accept the answer of the Sultan of Morocco to the original Spanish ultimatum, as a sufficient reparation for the offences committed at Ceuta by the Kabyles of Angera, and to be satisfied if the Moorish Government would admit the demand for an increased rayon to the fortress as a question to be arranged by an ulterior negotiation.

My suggestion, also, that some further delay should be allowed for answering the more recent demands of Spain was equally unavailing; and all that I could obtain from his Excellency was a confidential intimation that some days would be allowed to elapse before hostilities were actually commenced, if the answer of the Moorish Government should not have been received on the 15th instant.

To my inquiries, with a view to ascertain whether there were other claims behind those already known to Her Majesty's Government, I received answers which gave me reason to believe that the demands as to a new boundary, and the right to build forts on any part of the territory ceded to Spain, were the last. Therefore, when I learnt by Mr. Hammond's telegram of the 7th instant,† that Mr. Hay was instructed to advise the Moorish Government to grant the new boundary as preferable to war, I prepared a note for presentation to M. Calderon Collantes, by which I hoped to induce him to allow his confidential statements as to delay in the commencement of hostilities, and as to the finality of the Spanish demands, to be looked upon as assurances which I could transmit to your Lordship. I hoped that this might have been effected by my stating that Mr. Hay would support the demand for a new delimitation at Ceuta, if I could assure him that it would be the last, and by my expressing a hope that I might consider myself justified by his Excellency's statements of the previous day, in informing Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangiers that if the Sultan's answer should be unavoidably delayed beyond the 15th instant, His Majesty would not be held in any way responsible for the delay, but that his answer would be received as if it had been delivered on the above-mentioned date.

Your Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant‡ was, however, put into my hands just in time to prevent this note being sent to M. Collantes, and I executed your Lordship's instructions by amending it, and forwarding it in the form of which a copy is inclosed herewith. His Excellency had latterly evinced

* See Part I, No. 224. † Ibid., No. 207. ‡ Ibid., No. 211.

such excessive jealousy of interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government in my discussions with him on this question, and such morbid apprehension lest it could be imputed to the Government that they had yielded anything to the exigencies of Great Britain, that I felt it would be expedient to avoid any explicit demand, and also to express the wishes of Her Majesty's Government so that he would be obliged to answer my note immediately, or to allow his silence to pass for an assent to its proposals.

Next day, the 9th instant, I called at the Foreign Office, and informed the Under-Secretary of State, in M. Calderon's absence, that I was instructed to ask for a delay of ten days, and I inquired whether he thought it would be granted.

M. Comyn expressed an opinion that if the Government granted any delay, the number of days proposed would be no great difficulty, but said he believed that, considering the prevalent feeling of impatience among the public, they could not name a new date for the decision of the question.

With reference to the finality of the Spanish demands, I was led, from his observations, to fear that the extent of the territory asked for by M. Blanco was not considered sufficient by the Government, and that amended instructions had been sent to him on the subject. I therefore said that M. Blanco could not have made any proposal to the Moorish Government on such an important point without instructions from Madrid, and that the Spanish Government would be acting in the most unjustifiable manner, if they attempted, on second thoughts, to exact more territory than they had first asked for.

M. Comyn made some explanatory observations as to nothing having been yet settled on the subject; but when he returned home I considered the matter sufficiently important to address to him the confidential letter of which a copy is inclosed, asking for some explicit information concerning it.

Later in the day I received the private letter from M. Collantes, of which I also inclose a copy and translation, stating that he could have himself answered my note of the 8th instant, but that its contents seemed to him sufficiently important to make it expedient that he should submit it to the Council.

On the 10th instant I met his Excellency at a "besamanos" at the Palace, and learnt from him that there was no probability of the propositions of Her Majesty's Government being acceded to.

He said also that the tone of my note was that of an arbitrator between Spain and Morocco, and that he had therefore delayed answering it, until he could take the opinion of the Cabinet as to whether, as I understood him, he should not object to such interference.

I expressed some surprise at such an interpretation having been attributed to language which had been intended studiously to avoid the character of mediation, observing, however, that as he knew that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Morocco had exerted himself, and was still doing so, to induce the Moorish Government to comply with the demands of Spain, his Excellency ought to feel that it was necessary and right for Mr. Hay to know whether, when he was prepared to recommend the acceptance of demands as the last, they would prove to be so.

As it was impossible to discuss the question further at that time, it was arranged that I should see him next day. In the meanwhile, however, I received your Lordship's telegram of the 10th instant, with instructions which I could not reconcile with Mr. Hammond's telegram of the 7th, or with the statement in your Lordship's telegram of the 8th, that Mr. Drummond Hay was desired to support the claim of Spain to an enlarged area round Ceuta. As your Lordship's instructions, however, were positive, that Mr. Hay and I were to state respectively to the Moorish and Spanish Governments that the claim, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, could not properly form a condition of peace, I lost no time in communicating them to Mr. Hay; and in consequence of a warning which had reached me, as to the possibility of the new boundary sought by Spain enabling a cross-fire to be obtained between her territory in Africa, and Europe, I accompanied them with the observations contained in the telegram which I forwarded to your Lordship the same evening.

The possible eventuality above alluded to, as well as the instructions in your Lordship's telegram, impressed upon me the expediency of correcting the statement contained in my note to M. Collantes of the 8th instant, that Mr. Hay



was prepared to recommend the Moorish Government to accept the demand that an increase of territory should be granted absolutely to Spain before the 15th instant; and I therefore addressed to his Excellency the letter of which a copy is inclosed, requesting him to consider my note as cancelled, as it had been written under a misconception of your Lordship's instructions.

I endeavoured to see him on the 11th instant, to offer some farther explanations on this subject: but, though he promised to fix an hour for me to call upon him, he afterwards excused himself from doing so.

I therefore called again yesterday at the Foreign Office, and not finding him there I left for him with M. Comyn a confidential letter, of which a copy is inclosed, explaining that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, a new boundary for Ceuta could not properly be insisted upon as a condition of peace, and that they could only recommend the Sultan to consider the Spanish claim as a subject for negotiation; and I also stated that they might have serious objections to such a boundary being granted, if from its extent it increased the political importance of the geographical position of the fortress.

With a view also to leave no doubt as to the manner in which Her Majesty's Government will understand the assurances they have received through M. Isturiz and myself that the Spanish Government will abstain from conquests and territorial aggrandizement in Morocco, I drew up a Memorandum, of which I inclose a copy, of the substance of the conversation which your Lordship held with M. Isturiz on this subject on the 26th September, a report of which is contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 78 of that date, and I communicated it to M. Calderon Collantes in the note of which a copy is also inclosed. I afterwards received two telegrams from Mr. Drummond Hay, dated the 11th instant, and from which it may be hoped that all danger of war has been for the present averted by the Moorish Government having acceded to the Spanish demands; and that the territory which will be ceded at Ceuta will not increase the influence of that fortress in the Straits of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received your Lordship's telegram of this morning, and have acquainted M. Comyn, for M. Calderon's information, as the latter was attending the Cortes, with the opinion which Her Majesty's Government entertain respecting the demands added to the first Spanish ultimatum. I said also to M. Comyn that if Spain had not again put forward new demands, I believed her differences with Morocco might be considered arranged; but that if the question were to be re-opened by fresh pretensions on the part of the Spanish Government, their conduct would be inexcusable; and I asked whether a report, which was in circulation to that effect, were correct. He said they were unfounded, but that M. Blanco had as yet merely informed the Government that the Moorish Minister had full powers to settle everything with him, and that instructions had been sent to him on the night of the 11th to require a written engagement that the first demands would be carried into execution, and that a negotiation, as I understood him, would be immediately entered into for arranging the details of the new boundary.

M. Comyn said that if these proposals were accepted on the 15th, he trusted war would be avoided, and that M. Collantes would spare no exertions for that object.

On the other hand, a journal which receives its inspirations from Marshal O'Donnell, states this morning that the intelligence received from Morocco has not changed the position of the question, and that if the satisfaction required by Spain is not entirely obtained, she will be entitled to seek it by force of arms.

A. B.

Inclosure 1 in No. 15.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

*Madrid, October* 8, 1859.

Sir,

THE Government of the Queen my Sovereign have learned with satisfaction that the Moorish Government have accepted the ultimatum which was presented to them by Her Catholic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on the 5th ultimo, demanding reparation for offences offered to the garrison of Her Catholic Majesty's fortress of Ceuta, but, at the same time, they regret to understand that all causes of difference between the two Governments have not been removed, and that Her Catholic Majesty's Government still require that the Sultan should acknowledge, before the 15th instant, a right which has been claimed to erect buildings and fortifications on the pasturage lands ceded to Spain in 1845, for the use of the garrison of Ceuta, and that His Majesty should also, before that date, agree to grant some addition to the territory at present attached to that fortress; demands which Her Majesty's Government believe to have been addressed for the first time to the Government of the Sultan, when the Spanish Government, at the request of Her Majesty's Government, extended the term for answering their ultimatum from the 6th to the 15th instant.

Her Majesty's Government trust, however, that the remaining difficulties in the way of an arrangement may be removed; and, animated with a sincere desire to do everything in their power to promote the maintenance of amicable relations between Spain and Morocco, they have instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier to advise the Government of the Sultan to accede to the new demands in question, if I can assure him that, in the event of their being accepted, no further demands will be addressed to the Moorish Government.

Her Majesty's Government fear, however, that it may be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Sultan's answer to reach Tangier before the 15th instant, and they have consequently instructed me to express to your Excellency a hope, on their part, that Her Catholic Majesty's Government will, in consideration of the Sultan's acceptance of the original ultimatum, be disposed to grant some further delay for the arrangement of the questions which are still at issue, and to inquire whether I shall be justified in assuring Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Morocco that no further demands will be addressed to the Moorish Government, if those above mentioned are granted.

These wishes of Her Majesty's Government, which I have had the honour of submitting to your Excellency's favourable consideration, appear to be so much in harmony with the verbal and confidential explanations which you offered me yesterday, that, unless I should learn from your Excellency, in the course of to-morrow that I have misunderstood them, I shall consider myself entirely justified in forwarding to Mr. Hay the assurance with which Her Majesty's Government have instructed me, if possible, to furnish him, as to the finality of the Spanish demands; and as Her Majesty's Government, when they requested Her Catholic Majesty's Government to fix the 15th instead of the 6th instant as a further term for receiving an answer to the ultimatum of the 5th ultimo, were not aware that new conditions would be attached to a compliance with their wishes, I trust also that your Excellency will be disposed in accordance with those which they have now expressed, to name a reasonable period during which, in the event of the Sultan's answer to the new demand not having reached Tangier on the 15th instant, Her Catholic Majesty's Government will not hold His Majesty in any way responsible for the delay, but will receive his answer, if satisfactory, as if it had been delivered to them before the above-mentioned date.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 15.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Comyn.*

My dear M. Comyn, *Madrid, October* 9, 1859.

WITH reference to our conversation of this morning I think it right to mention to you, for M. Calderon Collantes' information, that Mr. D. Hay reported some days ago to Her Majesty's Government, the details of a demand addressed by M. Blanco del Valle to the Moorish Minister for cession of territory at Ceuta, and that I believed Her Majesty's Government were in possession of Mr. Hay's report when they dispatched the instructions in consequence of which I addressed my note of yesterday to M. Calderon Collantes.

I should most deeply regret, therefore, if another demand has been substituted for that referred to by Mr. Hay, but I trust M. Calderon Collantes will feel it due to me and to Her Majesty's Government, considering the efforts which they have made to induce the Moorish Government to grant Her Catholic Majesty's Government the reparation which they had required, to give me such confidential information on the subject as will preclude the possibility of my acting on an erroneous assumption of their intention.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 15.

*Señor Collantes to Mr. Buchanan.*

Muy Señor mio, *Madrid, 9 de Octubre de* 1859.

HE recibido la nota que V. se ha servido dirigirme ayer, y aunque pudiera contestar hoy á ella, sin embargo, como quiera que su contenido es de bastante importancia creo conveniente dar conocimiento de su citada nota al Consejo de Ministros.

Este no podrá probablemente reunirse mañana á causa de la festividad del dia, y de la grata obligacion que tiene el Gabinete de hallarse al lado de Su Magestad.

Si pasado mañana puede el Consejo deliberar sobre el asunto tendré la honra de trasmitir á V. su acuerdo en mi respuesta.

Aprovecho, &c.
(Firmado) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

(Translation.)

My dear Sir, *Madrid, October* 9, 1859

I HAVE received the note which you had the goodness to address to me yesterday, and though I could reply to it to-day, nevertheless, as its contents are of considerable importance, I think it expedient to bring it before the Council of Ministers.

They will probably not be able to meet to-morrow on account of the festivity of the occasion, and of the pleasing obligation of the Cabinet to be at Her Majesty's side.

If the Council can deliberate the day after to-morrow on the subject, I shall have the honour of forwarding their decision to you in my reply.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 15.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, ce* 10 *Octobre*, 1859.

LA note que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence avant hier, a été écrite sous une impression erronée de la portée d'une dépêche télégraphique

dont la véritable signification vient de m'être expliquée par le contenu d'une subséquente, plus clairement rédigée, que je viens de recevoir ce soir de Lord John Russell.

Je passerai dans l'après-midi demain au Département d'Etat, pour offrir à votre Excellence, si elle voudra bien me recevoir, des renseignements plus développés à ce sujet; mais, en attendant je dois la prier de vouloir bien considérer la note dont il s'agit comme non avenue, et lui exprimer l'espoir qu'elle sera disposée à recommander à la considération favorable du Conseil le désir que je suis chargé de lui témoigner de la part de mon Gouvernement, qu'un terme de dix jours puisse être accordé au Gouvernement Marrocain, pour répondre aux derniers demandes qui lui ont été adressées par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique.

Je profite, &c.
(Singé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 15

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Sir, *Madrid, October* 12, 1859.

THE possibility of war between Spain and Morocco seems daily to become more imminent, and as I am anxious that there should be no possible misunderstanding between the Government of the Queen my Sovereign, and the Government of Her Catholic Majesty, as to their respective views regarding the eventualities to which it may give rise, I have the honour to inclose herewith a Memorandum, for your Excellency's information, which I have drawn up from a despatch which I have lately received from Lord John Russell, reporting to me the substance of a conversation which he had with M. Isturiz on the 26th ultimo; and which places in the clearest light the manner in which Her Majesty's Government understand the assurance which they have received from Her Catholic Majesty's Minister in London, and will doubtless also interpret those which I have had the honour of transmitting to them on the part of your Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 6 in No. 15.

*Memorandum.*

*Madrid, October* 11, 1859.

A DESPATCH from Lord John Russell to Mr. Buchanan, dated the 26th ultimo, states that M. Isturiz had called upon him on that day, and during their interview had assured him, with reference to the differences between Spain and Morocco, that Spain had no intention to make conquests in that country, and only desired not to be molested in her existing possessions in Africa.

Lord John Russell said that he had always instructed Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid to communicate with the Spanish Government on the subject, and to obtain from them a distinct renunciation of any views of territorial aggrandizement in Africa; to which M. Isturiz replied that he was prepared to address such a declaration to his Lordship.

Lord John Russell further observed to M. Isturiz, that he hoped the Emperor of Morocco would be induced to acquiesce in any reasonable demands of the Spanish Government; but that Her Majesty's Government could not, with a due regard to the safety of Gibraltar, look with indifference on the acquisition by Spain of any further territory on the coast of Morocco; and that the occupation of any part of the Moroccan coast by Spain after the signature of a Treaty of Peace would be viewed by Her Majesty's Government in much the same light.

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Inclosure 7 in No. 15.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, le* 12 *Octobre,* 1859.

SI votre Excellence avait pu me recevoir hier, j'aurais eu l'honneur de lui expliquer verbalement que je me suis trompé en écrivant à votre Excellence dans ma note du 8 du courant que Mr. Drummond Hay avait l'ordre de mon Gouvernement de recommander au Gouvernement Marrocain d'accorder la demande du Gouvernement Espagnol pour une augmentation de territoire attaché à la forteresse de Ceuta. J'ai appris plus tard que ce n'était que comme une question qui pourrait convenablement être réglée par une négociation ultérieure que Mr. Hay eut dû recommander la dite proposition à l'adoption du Gouvernement du Sultan.

La même dépêche qui m'a apporté cette rectification m'a chargé d'exprimer à votre Excellence l'opinion du Gouvernement de la Reine que la demande d'une nouvelle délimitation à Ceuta ne devrait pas, après l'acceptation par le Sultan de l'ultimatum du 5 Septembre, se formuler comme une condition de paix; mais que sa solution devrait dépendre de ce que paraîtrait nécessaire pour la sécurité de la place dans une négociation amicale entre l'Espagne et le Maroc.

En portant ainsi à la connaissance de votre Excellence la manière de voir de mon Gouvernement à ce sujet, je ne dois pas lui cacher que l'étendue du territoire qui aurait été demandée par l'Espagne ne peut pas manquer d'influer beaucoup sur l'importance que l'on puisse attribuer à la question; et que si l'accroissement projeté du territoire attaché à Ceuta pouvait avoir l'effet d'augmenter l'importance politique de la position géographique de cette forteresse, mon Gouvernement pourrait voir dans un tel arrangement le changement dans le *status quo* en Maroc auquel Lord John Russell se réfère dans les observations qu'il a adressées le 26 du Septembre à M. Isturiz, et qui se trouvent rapportées dans le dernier paragraphe du Memorandum annexé à la note que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence aujourd'hui.

En faisant ces remarques à votre Excellence je dois pourtant ajouter que j'ignore entièrement ce qui aurait été demandé au Gouvernement Marrocain, et que je n'ai d'autres instructions au sujet de la nouvelle délimitation qu'on a demandée à Ceuta, que celles dont j'ai communiqué la portée à votre Excellence au commencement de cette lettre.

(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 16.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 22.)

(No. 449. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 13, 1859.

SHOULD the present danger of a Spanish invasion of Morocco pass away, it can only be considered as adjourned; for pretexts will not be wanting on which to hurry a quarrel, and the temper and passions which have been excited throughout Spain by the prospect of a war against the Moors have shown how ready the nation will be to avail itself of any which may be offered to it.

Marshal O'Donnell has been long known to be ambitious of conducting an expeditionary army against the Moors, and of realizing schemes of aggrandizement in Africa, which have never been forgotten since the days of Spanish power. To this feeling, therefore, together with his impatience of opposition in any object which he has in view, may be in a great degree attributed the first false step taken by the Spanish Government, if they did not really desire war; and that step once taken it has been easy for his Excellency to convince his colleagues that they could not, without compromising the interests and honour of the country, stop short of preparing for all eventualities; and having made great preparations to exact satisfaction commensurate with them, perhaps with a secret hope on his part that he was asking too much even for Moorish weakness.

Ceuta was included among the Spanish fortresses which it was lately desired to place upon a satisfactory footing of defence, the necessary funds for the purpose having been voted in the last Session of Cortes; and I believe that when the works were begun which have been the origin of the present difficulties the Spanish Government were not aware that their right to construct them could be called in question.

For the first few days after they were interrupted by the Moors, Marshal O'Donnell was the ruling spirit in the Council, and under his inspiration, as *ad interim* Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of War, the first ultimatum was drawn up, and orders were dispatched for the immediate organization of an army of observation at Algeciras, and it has been said in the public prints, without contradiction, that his colleagues disapproved of the course he was pursuing, and hastened, by telegraph, the return of M. Calderon Collantes; however that may be, M. Calderon Collantes certainly was recalled by a telegraphic message, and from the date of his arrival the Ministerial press adopted a more moderate tone, and endeavoured to allay the excitement which they had at first encouraged. The Opposition papers, however, both those of the ultra Progressista and of the Moderado parties, but more particularly the "Espagna," the leading journal of the latter, continued to publish daily diatribes against Moorish insolence, and to support the most exaggerated pretensions and the most extravagant expectations as to the results of a legitimate and holy war against the old enemies of the Spanish nation and the religion of the Cross. This language, it is said, was encouraged by intrigues at Paris, and had the double object of exciting the Government to embark in an enterprise which might prove a failure, or to discredit them by raising hopes which would not be realized in the event of an amicable arrangement of the question.

Under these circumstances, the death of the late Emperor of Morocco unfortunately took place, but the Government appeared at that time to be still under the influence of its moderate members; and they added, without hesitation, at the request of Seid Mohamed Khateeb, twenty days to the term for answering the ultimatum, thus extending it to the 6th instant. When there was a question, however, of granting further delay, the request of the Moorish Government was made a pretext for adding to the ultimatum a demand for an increase of the territory attached to the fortress of Ceuta—a measure of questionable justice, which appears to have been principally adopted from a not unreasonable apprehension that the expenses which had been incurred, and the expectations which had been raised, would be turned into dangerous arms against the Government, if no ostensible and material advantage were to result from the demonstration of force which had been made. Other motives may, however, have influenced Marshal O'Donnell, who is evidently desirous of strengthening his hold of power by increasing his popularity with the army, and, if possible, by adding to his present military reputation the prestige of a successful commander. His ostentatious and premature announcement of his intention to take the field in person, and his offering important commands to the more distinguished Generals of his party, while there was still good reason to hope for an amicable arrangement, may thus be accounted for; and I have authentic information that on the ultimatum of the 5th September being acceded to by the Sultan of Morocco, he wished to bring forward other pretensions, the acceptance of which should be made conditions of peace.

I have ventured to recapitulate these details, though they are already known to your Lordship, to show how much the present question has been influenced by the military element in the Government. Several of the Ministers have expressed to me their conviction that a war with Morocco at the present moment, when the finances of Spain are beginning to recover, and efforts are making to develop the resources of the country by the construction of railways, and to restore the public establishments to a state of efficiency, would be a great calamity, and could not, even if successful, be attended with any important advantage; and I am assured that some of the most influential supporters of the Government have expressed the same opinion to them. Still, the tendency is not towards peace; the army look to war for advancement; others hope to convince Europe, by the efficiency of the force which may be sent to Africa, that Spain has power and resources which entitle her to assume her former importance in its affairs; others, under the inspiration of a lying and licentious press, are merely influenced by passion, and the arrogance of a weak nation



towards one which is still more so; and there seems little doubt that there will be a general feeling of disappointment if peace is maintained.

Enough, however, has been done to show that even if it is preserved, it cannot be looked upon as permanent. New complications will soon arise, where there are persons and parties anxious that they should do so; and it appears to me that the only way to prevent them becoming dangerous would be to provide for them beforehand, by taking advantage of the present opportunity, as soon as things settle down, and the existing excitement passes away, to bring the Powers interested in the relations of Morocco with Europe to some definite agreement as to their future dealings with that country; for if peace or war, with conquests at the expense of the Sultan, are to be dependent on the excesses of the armed and fanatical tribes who come into contact with French and Spanish frontier garrisons, and who, doubtless, receive insults as frequently as they offer them, I feel assured that, ere long, serious events will take place in Morocco which cannot fail to be detrimental to British interests; for if Her Majesty's Government should be obliged to oppose the ambitious views which Spain, whatever language her Government may hold, certainly entertains of seeking aggrandizement in that country, she will drift inevitably, through the force of circumstances, into her old subserviency to France, as there are grounds for believing she was, on the present occasion, disposed to seek the countenance and support of the Emperor of the French, and thus to place in jeopardy her eventual interests and her independence, through an impatience of any restriction being placed on her freedom of action, and an insane and morbid jealousy of interference or remonstrance on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 17.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 22.)*

(No. 451. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 13, 1859.

WITH reference to my despatches of this date, on the subject of the differences between Spain and Morocco, I think it right to add that I shall have no confidence in an amicable arrangement being effected until it has been completed.

Marshal O'Donnell, from all I can learn, is resolved on war, if he can find any plausible pretext for it, and, with the exception of M. Calderon Collantes, none of his colleagues in the Cabinet, whatever their private opinions may be, oppose any resistance to his will.

One of his most intimate friends, who holds an important appointment under the Crown, admitted a few days ago that he was quite impracticable upon the subject, and deaf to all advice or remonstrance as to the serious risk and responsibility he will incur by the course which he is pursuing. On the other hand, after the degree to which public opinion has been excited, and the visions of glory which have been conjured up before the army and the nation, it may be doubted whether any peaceful solution of the question, however favourable to Spain, will not seriously compromise his position and the stability of the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 18.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 23, 1859, 3·20 P.M.

HER Majesty's Government wish to be free to act as circumstances may require. You are authorized to deliver your protest against extent of territory demanded. Your proposal is a very fair one; better for Spain and better for

Europe than the Spanish demand. The Moorish Minister had conceded first and second ultimatum, but when a third came he thought it better to refuse the whole than to undergo useless humiliation. If demands can be restricted and declared to be final, even with some indemnity, actual war may possibly be avoided, but no country can submit to an indefinite series of demands.

Present your protest, reserving liberty of England to act as she may deem best for the freedom of navigation of the Straits.

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No. 19.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 23, 8·15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 23, 1859, 1 P.M.

I HAVE received a note dated the 21st, in reply to mine of that date referred to in a telegram to your Lordship of the same day. It states that declaration of war has put an end to all the demands of Spain, leaving both parties free to propose what they may consider themselves entitled to on its termination. The Spanish Government, nevertheless, declare that they never had any intention, nor will they hereafter attempt, to occupy any point on the Straits of Gibraltar from which Spain might obtain a superiority which would be dangerous to the freedom of the passage. This declaration, I think, settles the question of the coast satisfactorily.

I shall, probably, be told to consider it an answer to my second note of the 21st, embodying your Lordship's telegram of that date.

The Government expect eventually to be able to obtain to the south of Ceuta the amount of territory asked for; they believe that no objection can be offered to their acquiring it.

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No. 20.

*Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 23, 9·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, October* 23, 1859, 4 P.M.

THE French Ambassador at Madrid will have instructions to advise the Spanish Government in the same sense as your Lordship's last instructions to Buchanan, but the French Government do not attach any importance to the territory asked for by Spain of Morocco.

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No. 21.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24, 11 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 23, 11 P.M.

THE messengers have arrived. Your despatch No. 115 is not appropriate to the present circumstances.

In verbal explanations, and in a note received yesterday, Spanish Foreign Minister has given me a distinct assurance that the Government have no intention of occupying the Mediterranean coast near Ceuta, and they pretend that the war has been declared, not on the territorial question alone, but because they received evasive answers as to the manner in which Spanish honour was to be satisfied.

In my opinion, therefore, there is now no British interest threatened, and though it may be difficult for Spain to prove to valid judges that she has a just ground of war with Morocco, the question at present appears to rest entirely between two States alone. I have asked to take back my second note of the 21st, embodying your Lordship's telegram of that day, as the coast question is settled by Spanish note received yesterday, dated the 21st, and I propose to do so unless your Lordship should instruct me in the course of to-morrow to the contrary; and I shall suspend delivery of either your No. 110 or No. 115 until I have an answer to this telegram. In the meantime I shall send Spanish note to



London by the messenger to-morrow, so that if your Lordship agrees with my view of the case, you may decide, after receiving it, upon what further communication should be made to the Spanish Government.

Generals leave on Tuesday and Wednesday for the camp. Marshal O'Donnell told me to-day he would not go till towards end of the month. He has stated to-day to one of his own officers, a strong partizan of the English alliance, that he would be mad to think of occupying any part of the coast at the Strait, and that all he wants is that Ceuta should be rendered capable of holding a larger garrison, and that it should not be shut entirely within, which could be effected without going near the north coast.

Though, if it were wished, the question could be easily settled by an honest negotiator, it has assumed a character here which, from this time, imposes war upon the Government.

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No. 22.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24, 12·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 24, 1·30 A.M.

YOUR Lordship's telegram of Sunday afternoon has just been received. My telegram of Sunday morning will have shown your Lordship that a protest could not now be made against a pretension officially repudiated by Spain. Spanish note of the 21st, and the declaration of war, have greatly altered circumstances, and I have just asked, by telegraph, for your Lordship's opinion as to the expediency of my not using your Lordship's instructions in your Lordship's No. 115.

If you approve of my not delivering it, I might acknowledge Spanish note, and state the views of Her Majesty's Government as to laws which must regulate territorial arrangements on peace being concluded.

But my own conviction is, that it would be expedient your despatch No. 110 should be delivered, and that, without further communication in writing, we should await events.

To get over the domestic embarrassments of the question it is almost necessary for the Government that the expedition should sail; afterwards an arrangement will be less difficult, unless they impose an immoderate indemnity. They now pretend that Bullones begins close to Ceuta.

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No. 23.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 24, 1859.

IN answer to your telegrams of yesterday and to-day, I have to instruct you to give M. Collantes my despatch No. 110, and also No. 69 to which it refers. Do not deliver No. 115. We shall wait to see the text of his note regarding the territory.

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No. 24.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24.)

(No. 41.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 17, 1859.

AT sunset yesterday, M. Blanco returned in a steam-frigate, which was placed in quarantine, as coming from Algeciras. At 10·30, P.M., the Moorish Minister asked me to call on him. He gave me for perusal a letter just received from M. Blanco, of which the inclosed is a translation. The Minister did not appear to know exactly where Sierra Bullones is, but he believed, and the information I have received tends to confirm it, that it includes Apes' Hill, or a part of that district which would form a frontier boundary of eight or ten miles, or perhaps more, before Ceuta.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

The Moorish Minister declared no such cession of territory could possibly be made, even if France and Great Britain were to threaten to join their forces with Spain to compel the Sultan to cede it; for, should His Majesty give way, it would be equivalent to an abdication from his throne, as he would certainly be discarded by all his subjects.

The Moorish Minister dwelt on the bad faith of the Spanish Government throughout the negotiation, and that they had chosen to put on their wordings of the various ultimata, constructions and interpretations to suit their own ambitious views, disregarding their written engagements and verbal promises.

I have not time to report to your Lordship, as the steamer is starting, all the Minister said regarding M. Blanco's verbal promises, but I can, on my honour, declare that, when I was using my good offices to obtain the consent of the Moorish Government to the "concession of the boundary lines, including the high ground requisite for the defence and security of the garrison of Ceuta," M. Blanco, in an interview I had with him, declared that he believed it probable the high ground might even be within the old lines; at any rate, that it was not at any distance, but that he could not state the exact position, as he knew not the names of the sites.

I observed to M. Blanco that, of course, the ground asked for was within the territory which lay on the tongue of land contiguous to Ceuta. M. Blanco asked how I could suppose, for a moment, it would be otherwise; for a force of 10,000 men would not be sufficient to guard a wider frontier. I only cite this to your Lordship as a proof that if M. Blanco gave me this assurance, and many others which he has since broken, it is more than probable the accusations made against him by the Moorish Minister for bad faith are correct.

Your Lordship will observe that Spain no longer demands that the Angerites, guilty of the attack on the Spanish garrison, "be chastised," but that the "ultima pena" be inflicted, which, to my understanding of Spanish, means death. The Moorish Minister has not the power of life and death over the subjects of the Sultan.

I inclose, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a telegram I received yesterday from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid. This assurance that time would be given to negotiate, contrasts strongly with M. Blanco's language in his letter, and of the verbal message that the Vice-Consul delivered last night to Khateeb, insisting that before 12 o'clock the Minister must give a reply. Either the Spanish Ministry misleads Mr. Buchanan, or the Chargé d'Affaires is deceiving the Moorish Minister. I beg to repeat to your Lordship the opinion I had entertained from the first, and had laid stress upon it in almost all my despatches and private letters, that the Spanish Government had come to the foregone conclusion of going to war with Morocco, and has only been, in its negotiations, gaining time to complete preparations.

It appears to me the demand for this district or tract of territory is in direct contravention of the engagement said to be entered into by Spain with Great Britain, that she will make no conquest. Your Lordship's instructions, and Mr. Buchanan's letters and telegrams, speak only of a "piece" or "bit of land," necessary for the security of the garrison; but, under any circumstances, no insistance, no negotiation, could ever bring about the concession of Apes' Hill, and therefore I feel it my duty to withdraw from further interference in this question.

The Moorish Minister, before he replies to M. Blanco, will make inquiry as to the exact position of Sierra Bullones.

I had refrained until now from creating any alarm by throwing the slightest doubt on the probability of an amicable arrangement, but I look upon a rupture as imminent. I have, therefore, given notice to British subjects to hold themselves in readiness to leave the country, and to make preparations for the embarkation of their property. If a proper time be not granted before hostilities commence, I shall send a protest, perhaps in concert with my colleagues, to the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires or Commandant, as the case may be.

I inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a letter I have addressed to the Admiral.

I shall remain at Tangier to the last, in the hope of being useful in preventing outrages on the lives and property of Europeans and Jews when swarms of wild mountaineers arrive in the neighbourhood to defend their country. I do not apprehend that my person or property will be injured by the Moorish popula-



tion of the town; but if Tangier is to be taken by the Spanish troops, I must avow I should not feel the same confidence, particularly as it appears a strong feeling has been excited amongst the troops now at Algeciras against the English, and especially against myself for the part I have taken in endeavouring to bring about an amicable arrangement of the Spanish-Mauro difference. Should your Lordship be pleased, however, to obtain from the Spanish Government an assurance that my person and house will be respected by the Spanish troops, I will remain at my post to the last, in the cause of humanity, as I believe the Moorish population would, to a certain extent, be disposed to meet my wishes in preventing the committal of outrages on the defenceless Christians and Jews who may remain here, not having the pecuniary means of existing elsewhere.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 24.

*Don Juan Blanco to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

(Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) *Tangier, October* 16, 1859.

YOUR note of the 13th instant having removed the difficulties which impeded complete satisfaction being given for the outrages committed on the Spanish flag in the neighbourhood of Ceuta, the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign has ordered me to inform you that the satisfaction which has been demanded must be granted without momentary loss of time, and in the following manner:—

1stly. The Chief of the Moorish troops who ought to be the Pasha or Governor of the Province, shall replace, with his own hands, the arms of Spain on the spot where they were before they were torn down by the vandals of Angera, and shall cause the said arms to be saluted by his soldiers.

2ndly. These (soldiers) shall carry out in presence of the Spanish garrison of the aforementioned fortress, the utmost penalty of the law on the persons of the real instigators of the attack. Both these conditions shall be fulfilled immediately.

3rdly. The Moorish Government shall appoint two engineers, who, together with two others appointed by Spain, shall determine upon the most convenient points for the boundary line, it being understood that these engineers shall necessarily take as the basis of the demarkation the Sierra Bullones.

The Spanish Government will not consider the satisfaction which they have had an indisputable right to exact, and which you have agreed to in the name of your monarch, as fully granted, if all these measures are not carried out in the briefest space of time.

In the meantime the armaments will continue, and I give you notice that the least delay on your part in complying exactly with my demands will be the the signal for the commencement of hostilities, and consequently the rupture of friendly relations between our two Governments.

The Government of my Sovereign Lady the Queen hopes that the Sultan will not be the cause of so grave an event, from which the most disastrous consequences may accrue.

I await your reply, but it must be as clear and explicit as the case requires; and I warn you that I shall not admit of the slightest observation in opposition to the just demands of my Government.

Considering the climax to which matters have attained, there only remains for you the alternative of choosing between a strict and immediate compliance with all we have agreed upon as ample satisfaction to the Spanish nation or the war. Now, choose!

Peace.

The Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General of Her Catholic Majesty,

(Signed) JUAN BLANCO DEL VALLE.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 24.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 15, 1859.

THE Government will send immediate orders to the Chargé d'Affaires which will prevent hostilities, and keep the question of boundary open for further discussion, until interests of all parties are made clear and properly secured.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 24.

*Mr. D. Hay to Vice-Admiral Fanshcwe.*

Sir, *Tangier, October* 17, 1859.

I REGRET to inform you that a rupture of relations between Spain and Morocco is imminent.

The contents of a note which has been just addressed by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to the Moorish Minister, demanding the cession of a territory, which, I understand, includes Apes' Hill, or part of it, removes all hope of an arrangement.

I know not whether the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires may carry his threat into execution, of breaking off relations this day; but I think the time has now come when immediate measures should be taken to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government in providing British subjects, the subjects of other Christian Powers, and, ultimately, the Hebrew Moorish population of Tangier, with the means of withdrawing in safety from this country.

The number of British subjects will, I believe, be nearly 400. Foreign subjects may amount to about 150. The Hebrew population who may desire to leave the country will, perhaps, amount to some 500 or 600 souls.

I would suggest that two of Her Majesty's steam-vessels be sent here to assist in embarking, in the first place, the Europeans; that a frigate accompanied by a smaller vessel be sent to the western ports, to take off the British subjects and Europeans there who may desire to leave the country.

Your Excellency will best decide, in concert with the Governor, where the passengers are to be conveyed. I would suggest that the corps of foreign Representatives here be allowed at any rate to land at Gibraltar with their families, and those of their dependents.

It appears to me that, if notice were given at Gibraltar to the public that good freights would probably be found for merchant-vessels at Tangier and the ports on the coast, it would greatly facilitate the departure of the European and and Jewish population without encumbering Her Majesty's ships. As unforeseen events might yet occur rendering the embarkation unnecessary, though I must avow I do not think it is probable, I could not assume the responsibility of ensuring freights, but I know of several persons who have valuable cargoes waiting here. At present there are only a few craft in the bay.

My present intention is to wait here until the last European and Hebrew subject who may desire to leave the country is embarked, and not to depart from my post until compelled to do so by events which are to be apprehended may take place; for my presence here may be of some service in preventing outrages being committed on the houses and property of Europeans that may be left, and on the Hebrew population.

Under these circumstances I would beg to suggest that, after all the British and other subjects have retired, one of the vessels under your command be directed to remain in these waters, and be enabled to communicate with me by signals, in case of necessity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 24.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 17, 1859.

THE Spanish Chargé d'Affaires returned last night, and presented a note to the Moorish Minister, demanding cession of territory from Ceuta to Sierra Bullones. In case of refusal, hostilities will commence at once. The Minister does not know exactly where the last point mentioned is, but, if it be where he supposes, the territory demanded includes Apes' Hill, or about ten miles of district.

The Minister says he cannot accede to such a demand; and to that effect will reply and protest.

The Spanish Government ought to allow at least ten days for Christians here and at the outports to embark, and take away their property.

I received your telegram of the 15th of October. The Spanish Government has, I think, misled your Excellency, for the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires asserts that war will be declared if a favourable answer be not given before 12 o'clock to-day.

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No. 25.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Hammond.—(Received October* 24.)

(Private.)

My dear Hammond, *Tangier, October* 11, 1859.

MY telegram of this date to Mr. Buchanan and my despatch will tell you all that has been done this day. I never could have got Khateeb to assume such a heavy responsibility as to forestall the Sultan's orders, had I not told him clearly, if war broke out I should not conceal from the Sultan the advice I had given, and that his (Khateeb's) timidity had been the cause of all the disasters which may be produced. Moreover, the letter from the Sultan, accepting ultimatum of the 5th September, and letter of Vizier of recent date, received yesterday, were, I considered, a sufficient excuse for the Minister in the present emergency to write in the terms he has done. At any rate, as I told Khateeb, if you have not said "checkmate" to your adversary, you have cried "check to his king," for Blanco has not embarked to-day as he intended. Now, it may be said, "Even if Blanco had embarked, he must have awaited the 15th before he broke off relations and declared war." That is very true; but the greatest consternation would have been produced here amongst the Christian and Jewish population, and enthusiasm and excitement amongst the Moors, which would, of course, have extended to Angera, and perhaps caused the inhabitants, as well as mountaineers from other districts, to set at defiance the Tangier troops and recommence an attack on Ceuta. Perhaps the Spanish Government, which desires war, expected that result when they instructed Blanco to embark.

I am still far from being sanguine that peace will be made, for I expect the Spaniards will invent a pretext for going to war when no just cause can be found. My task at present is, and has been, to guide the Moorish Government in such a path that Spain will be in the wrong and break faith if hostilities are commenced, unless some unforeseen event occurs at Ceuta or elsewhere, of which I am in hourly dread; for not only have we the excited mountaineers burning to revenge the insults to their Mohamedan shrine, but we have the wily and faithless Spaniard at Ceuta seeking, perhaps, by some manœuvre to cause the Moors to set at defiance the orders of the Sultan and renew the combat.

I hope what I have done will be approved and supported by Lord John Russell, for I feel at every step in this affair I am assuming a grave responsibility; for there is no foreseeing what may be the end of a fight between the Moor and the Don.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 26.

*Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24.)

(No. 675.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 22, 1859.

ON the receipt yesterday of your Lordship's despatch No. 444 of the 20th instant, pressing for an answer from the French Government on the subject of the differences which have arisen between Spain and Morocco, Count Walewski not being in Paris, I went to his Excellency's country place.

Count Walewski said that if the answer which your Lordship desired to have related to the origin of the differences, he must declare his deliberate opinion that the complaints and demands of Spain against Morocco were well founded; but if it referred to the question whether the territory near Ceuta, the cession of which was asked for by Spain, would give that Power the command of the Straits of Gibraltar, and whether the French Government were prepared to acquiesce in such a state of things, he must state that he had not examined the question, and until he had done so must reserve his reply. All he could say at the present moment was, that with the continual anxiety which Morocco caused to France, the latter would prefer the Spaniards as neighbours to the Moors.

A lengthened conversation ensued on the subject of the command of the Straits, which ended by Count Walewski's promising to lay the whole matter before the Emperor, and to take His Majesty's orders.

On my return to Paris I found your Lordship's telegram of 2·55 P.M. yesterday, informing me of the instructions with which Mr. Buchanan had been furnished. I lost no time in letting Count Walewski know the substance of them, as he had been led to believe from M. de Persigny that Her Majesty's Government had sent orders to Admiral Fanshawe to prevent the Spanish expedition from landing in Africa.

I asked his Excellency at the same time to instruct the French Ambassador at Madrid to support the very reasonable proposals which Mr. Buchanan had been desired to make.

As this was done by letter, I have not yet received Count Walewski's answer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

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No. 27.

*Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 24.)

(No. 678.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 23, 1859.

DURING my visit to Count Walewski this morning, I adverted again to the question of Spain and Morocco, and asked his Excellency whether he could satisfy your Lordship's reasonable desire to know the opinion of the French Government upon the last demand of Spain.

Count Walewski replied that he had been yesterday at St. Cloud, and had seen the Emperor and the Ministers of War and Marine, and had talked over with them the objections raised by Her Majesty's Government to the cession of territory asked for by Spain, and that in their judgment there was nothing in the demand of Spain to justify the apprehensions of Her Majesty's Government. The heights of Sierra Bullones, in the opinion of the Minister of War, was necessary to the defence of Ceuta. It was not above three miles from the fortress, and did not command the sea approaches, and three miles was not too large a rayon for a fortress exposed to such treacherous enemies as the Moors.

I replied that M. Collantes had himself informed Mr. Buchanan that the territory required by Spain extended to six miles, and that it included the sea-coast, which would naturally give to Spain, if the territory was ceded, the command of the Straits within gun-shot of that part of the shore.

Count Walewski rejoined that, even if this were so, the French Government



could not be persuaded that Spain would have command of the Straits so long as Great Britain occupied Gibraltar.

I replied that that was not the question at issue; that I did not require to be told that Great Britain was strong enough to prevent Spain from exercising a command which would make the latter almost mistress of the Mediterranean. But it was just this state of things, I said, which Her Majesty's Government wished to avoid; they desired to prevent all cause of quarrel with Spain, who, let it be said in passing, had rather high notions of the rights of sovereignty, and was, at the present moment, giving Her Majesty's Government constant cause of remonstrance by the conduct she was pursuing towards British merchant-ships passing Tarifa. Neither, I added, did Her Majesty's Government arrogate to themselves the power of at once determining whether the territory asked for by Spain would or would not have the effect contemplated. They were not themselves sufficiently informed upon the subject, and all they asked of Spain was time to examine it with the rest of Europe, if necessary, and time for the Emperor of Morocco to take a decision upon a question totally new to him.

Count Walewski said that, although retaining his opinion that there was nothing to cause alarm in the demand of Spain, he would instruct M. Barrot, by telegraph, to advise the Spanish Government to give time for the further consideration of the question by Europe, if necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

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No. 28.

*Lord Wodehouse to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 24, 1859.

I AM directed by Lord John Russell to request you to state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's Government have no further instructions at this moment to address to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe for his guidance in the present state of the differences between Spain and Morocco, and that the instructions which, by the Queen's command, Lord John Russell directed their Lordships, on the 15th instant, to convey to that officer, are, for the present, to remain in force unaltered.

I am to request that a communication to this effect may be addressed to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WODEHOUSE.

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No. 29.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 24, 1859.

I AM much pleased with French instructions to Madrid.

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No. 30.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 25, 6·10 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October* 23, 1859, 5 P.M.

I VISITED, yesterday, Bullones and Moorish lines and Castle.

Bullones is about six miles, as crow flies, from Ceuta, or three hours' journey in mountains. Between Moorish Castle and Ceuta are hills, without wood, about 300 feet high. From Castle to Bullones are precipitous mountains from 800 to 1,600 feet high, covered with brushwood and rocks. No lines could be drawn on mountains which would prevent conflicts, or afford security to Ceuta. On the contrary, at about 400 yards from the centre of present lines there appears to be, on Moorish territory, a natural boundary, including a height

from which Ceuta might be molested by cannon: sea on both sides. Beyond that land stretches out, east and west, in mountains and almost inaccessible country.

My conviction is, that no lines could be drawn thereon, as there are no natural boundaries; but if drawn there, constant conflicts would take place, and peace would not be durable.

Bullones, from Spanish coast, according to Admiralty Chart, is about eight miles across.

No further communication between the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires and Moorish Minister.

I have declined giving further advice, as instructed.

I hear another ultimatum is to be presented to-day by Spanish Chargé d'Affaires.

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No. 31.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Hammond.—(Received October 25.)*

(Private.)

My dear Hammond, *Tangier, October 17, 1859*

MY despatch No. 41 of this date has been written in the greatest haste, so I hope Lord John Russell will excuse any carelessness of language.

The Spanish Government is acting with the greatest bad faith, not only, I think, deceiving the Moors, but us also; or why their assurances to Mr. Buchanan? The demand they have now put forward could never be granted until after torrents of blood have been shed.

If the Spaniards fulfil all they threaten, I expect that the war will last for years, and that no terms will then be come to, either for payment of indemnity or for territory.

If the French are going to attack Ouchda at same time as Spaniards this coast, my prophecies and expectations are about to be realized. The Don is the cat's-paw. At any rate, after the war the Moor will become the humble servant of his conquerors.

I put in this note a slip of paper, just sent me confidentially by a colleague. I don't pin my faith on what he says, but he is kept well informed in certain quarters.

As I have said, I shall stay here as long as I can, but unless Spanish Government will ensure my safety—if, alas, Tangier is to be taken—I should not like to be left to the mercy of infuriated Spanish troops after an assault, who would probably cut my throat, and say it was the Moors. As to my furniture, I have no boxes or cases to send it off, so if it be destroyed I hope Government will compensate me.

The Spaniards will find, probably, greater resistance than they expect, and I would not be surprised if they are the first to give up the game, and withdraw from the contest, unless France backs them with men and money, which is openly talked of by all Spaniards.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—Reade has just come to say that the French Chancelier has just told him that the Admiral of the French fleet has sealed orders, not to be opened till directed to do so by telegram; that 8,000 men, with a month's provisions, are on board the fleet; and that he (the Chancelier) thought the intention might be, finally, to occupy some point on the coast. I give you the information as Reade heard it.

J. H. D. H.

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Inclosure in No. 31.

*Note addressed to Mr. D. Hay.*

QUAND comptez-vous expédier un vaisseau à Gibraltar.

J'apprends de source certaine que l'Espagne a fait une alliance avec la France pour entrependre cette guerre.

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No. 32.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(No. 41.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 25, 1859.*

I HAVE received your despatches Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41, of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th instant, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of your conduct in endeavouring to bring to a peaceful issue the differences between Spain and Morocco.

It is clear that the Spanish Government have not been really desirous of settling those differences by negotiation, but that they have sought war with Morocco.

Under present circumstances, I have to instruct you to remain at your post as long as you can, but, if your personal security is endangered by the wild Moorish tribes, or if you are insulted or annoyed by the Spanish troops, you will proceed to Gibraltar.

I have to instruct you to send home a translation of the note from the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to the Moorish Minister, which is referred to in your despatch No. 41 of the 17th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 33.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(No. 42.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 25, 1859.*

I TRANSMIT for your information a copy of a paper which has this day been communicated to me by M. Isturiz,* containing assurances on the part of the Spanish Government with reference to the war which Spain has declared against Morocco.

I likewise inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed both to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris and to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,† stating what passed between M. Isturiz and me on the occasion of his communicating to me the inclosed paper.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 34.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 25.)*

(No. 459.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October 15, 1859.*

I FIND that Señor Calderon Collantes does not consider the Memorandum explanatory of the meaning attached by Her Majesty's Government to the observations which your Lordship has addressed to Señor de Isturitz, or the communications which you have instructed me to make to the Spanish Government, deprecating conquests on their part in Morocco, to be quite consistent with the reports which they have received from Señor de Isturiz of your Lordship's language to himself, or with the written communications and verbal explanations which Señor Calderon Collantes has received from me.

I think it right, therefore, to state, independently of any previous communications on the subject, that I read to his Excellency, *in extenso*, and allowed him to take a copy of your Lordship's No. 69 of the 22nd ultimo,‡ which instructed me to require from Her Catholic Majesty's Government a declaration in writing that, if Tangier were occupied by Spanish troops in the event of war between Spain and Morocco, they would be withdrawn on the ratification of a Treaty of Peace.

Your Lordship is already informed of the manner in which your instructions have been carried into effect, and if I did not embody them in my communica-

* No. 37. † No. 38. ‡ See Part I, No. 170.

tion to M. Calderon Collantes, to which his Excellency's note of the 7th instant is a reply, I abstained from doing so to meet his Excellency's wishes, which I considered might be done without inconvenience, as the views of Her Majesty's Government were clearly and fully explained in your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch, of which a copy was in his Excellency's possession.

With respect to what has passed between your Lordship and Señor de Isturiz, I can, of course, offer no further explanations to Señor Calderon Collantes, but I am anxious that no misunderstanding should exist as to what I may have said to his Excellency myself; it is therefore right that I should explain more fully to your Lordship what took place when I received the Spanish declaration respecting Tangier.

Señor Calderon said that he understood, in giving me that declaration, that Her Majesty's Government recognized the right of Spain, in the event of war, to occupy any other town except Tangier, until any indemnity for which the Sultan might become indebted to her for the expenses of the war should be paid; and that if Tetuan, Laraiche, Rabat, or Mogador, were selected for the purpose, no objection would be made by Her Majesty's Government.

I replied that the only instructions which I had upon this subject were known to his Excellency, and that as a copy of your Lordship's despatch respecting Tangier was in his possession, he was as competent as I could be to form an opinion of what it was meant to express; but as he had asked me how I understood it, I was ready to acknowledge it appeared to me to state that, while Her Majesty's Government objected generally to Spain making any conquests in Morocco, their specific objection to her temporary occupation of some Moorish town or seaport, after the ratification of a Treaty of Peace, as a guarantee for the payment of a war indemnity, applied to Tangier alone; and I expressed my readiness to inform your Lordship that I had so understood your instructions. Your Lordship's despatch, however, No. 78 of the 26th ultimo,* renders it doubtful whether I interpreted them correctly, and my principal object in communicating the substance of that despatch to Señor Collantes, was that his Excellency should either accept it as fairly representing the understanding which has been come to between the two Governments, or that he should, by inviting some further explanations, effectually prevent the possibility of any difference of opinion existing on a point of so much importance.

I have read this despatch to Señor Calderon Collantes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 35.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 25.)*

(No. 460.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 16, 1859

WITH reference to my despatch No. 447 of the 13th instant, marked Confidential, reporting my proceedings in the question between Spain and Morocco, I have further to acquaint your Lordship that on receiving Mr. Drummond Hay's telegram of the 12th instant which I forwarded on the 14th instant to your Lordship, I conceived that some new difficulty might have occurred at Tangier between the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires and the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs; and though M. Calderon Collantes had made an appointment to receive me on the following day, I thought it would be expedient to lose no time in expressing the feelings with which Her Majesty's Government would learn that war was decided upon, notwithstanding the ample concessions and the sacrifices which had been made by the Government of the Sultan; and I, therefore, addressed to him the confidential letter of which a copy is inclosed.

Next day, the 15th, I had the interview with his Excellency which I expected, when he told me that M. Blanco del Valle had been instructed to demand a distinct engagement that the three conditions of the first ultimatum would be carried into effect within the least possible delay; and that the principle of the extension of the Spanish territory at Ceuta, on the basis of the Sierra Bullones being taken for the new boundary, should be accepted, it being agreed that two Commissioners should be appointed by each Government to

* See Part I, No. 179.



trace the new frontier; for the final arrangement of which a reasonable period would be allowed, so that time might be afforded for the examination of any objections which might be made to it on the part of Europe.

I said that I hoped the Spanish Government would not urge the Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs to name an early day for executing his engagements, as fixed terms were excessively inconvenient, and might again place the relations of the two Governments on a dangerous footing.

His Excellency said he was himself fully aware of their inconvenience, and would endeavour to guard against it; and as I expressed a decided opinion that no addition of territory to Spain would meet with the assent of Her Majesty's Government, which would give the Spanish Government an influence over the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar which they did not now possess, he said that the objections of other Powers might, he considered, be removed by an engagement on the part of the Spanish Government not to construct fortresses or batteries on their newly acquired territory.

I replied that since I had called your Lordship's attention to the alleged possibility of Spain being enabled, by the intended extension of her territory at Ceuta, to establish batteries in Africa, which could cross their fire with others in the Peninsula, I had received no instructions from your Lordship; but that I should suppose your Lordship would act as I should do myself, were I in your place, and that no engagement, however solemn, and no guarantee, however plausible, would induce me to permit the Spanish Government to acquire territory which would render such a contingency possible; and had they possessed such a geographical position before the invention of rifled cannon, I could well understand that Europe would call upon them to come under an engagement not to construct forts upon it. M. Calderon Collantes then said that the Spanish Government, in asking for an increased rayon round Ceuta, had only been actuated by a wish to provide for the security and convenience of the garrison, and that they would be found ready to do everything that was reasonable to remove all ground for susceptibility or apprehension on the part of other Powers, and even, if necessary, to consent to the new lines being traced so as not to include the coast within the Spanish territory. I said that I was quite ready to give them credit for having overlooked a possibility to which my own attention had only been called within a few days, and that I was glad to hear he was ready to acknowledge the importance of the subject, and that Her Majesty's Government, and the Governments of other maritime States, would be justified in protesting against Spain acquiring territory in Africa, which would render her the mistress of the entrance to the Mediterranean; adding, that I trusted ample time would be allowed for the examination and discussion of this question before any definitive arrangement was entered into between Spain aud Morocco. His Excellency then said that he had just learnt that M. Blanco del Valle had arrived at Algeciras, and that he did not clearly understand why he had come, as he had received a report from him that the Moorish Government had adhered to the principle of the Spanish demand; but whatever the cause of his arrival might have been, I might be assured he would be sent back again, and that any minor points of difference still existing between the two Governments would be reserved for further discussion.

In the course of this conversation M. Collantes frequently repeated his earnest desire to maintain the most amicable relations with Her Majesty's Government, and his conviction that the interestss of England and Spain in the Mediterranean and Africa were identical.

I received in the evening further telegrams from Mr. Drummond Hay, dated the 13th and 14th instant, which I immediately forwarded to your Lordship, confirming M. Collantes' statements as to the prospects of a peaceful solution of the question.

Before concluding this despatch I ought to mention that the Under-Secretary of State complained to me two days ago that my note of the 12th, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch No. 447 to your Lordship, and its inclosure, were not consistent with your Lordship's language to M. Isturiz, and mine to M. Calderon Collantes; supporting his complaint by your Lordship's correspondence with M. Isturiz, and a Memorandum which he read to me of what passed at my interview with M. Collantes on the 7th instant, when his Excellency agreed to give me the declaration respecting Tangier. I could not deny the general accuracy of M. Comyn's allegations; but as his Memoran-



PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

dum attached more importance to my explanations than they were entitled to, I drew up my despatch No. 459 of yesterday's date, to your Lordship, and read it to M. Calderon Collantes, with the double object of satisfying his Excellency, and placing on record that he acknowledged that his note of the 7th was, in reality, an answer to your Lordship's despatch No. 69 of the 22nd ultimo.

I understand that his Excellency intends to answer my note above referred to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure in No. 35.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Collantes, *Madrid, le* 14 *Octobre*, 1859.

J'AI reçu avant hier une dépêche télégraphique de Mr. D. Hay, qui m'a annoncé que le Gouvernement Maroccain avait accédé à toutes les demandes Espagnoles, y comprise la cession de territoire qui avait été demandé pour augmenter la rayon de Ceuta. Toutes les difficultes entre l'Espagne et le Maroc paraissent ainsi arrangées à l'amiable, et je me suis cru dispensé d'exécuter des nouvelles instructions que j'avais reçues le même jour de Lord John Russell, de réitérer mes instances auprès de votre Excellence et de ne rien négliger pour engager le Gouvernement Espagnol d'accorder un délai raisonnable pour laisser arriver à Tanger la réponse du Sultan aux dernières demandes qui lui avaient été adressées; délai auquel, d'après l'appréciation que le Gouvernement Anglais avait fait des circonstances, on avait en tout droit de s'atténdre de la modération et de la justice du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique.

C'est donc avec un vif regret que je viens de recevoir un télégramme de Mr. D. Hay, d'après lequel il paraîtrait que M. Blanco de Valle n'aurait pas été en mesure d'accepter comme suffisante la satisfaction que le Ministre Maroccain s'est déclaré prêt à lui accorder, et qu'on craignait à Tanger que les concessions et les sacrifices considérables que l'Empereur n'a pas hésité à faire pour empêcher une rupture avec l'Espagne avait manqué d'atteindre ce but. J'aime à croire pourtant que ces craintes sont mal fondées; en tout cas je ne les partage pas, me fiant aux sentiments justes et élevés que votre Excellence m'a toujours exprimés au sujet de vos discussions avec le Maroc, je ne veux pas me permettre de croire, après que le Sultan aurait annoncé par son Ministre des Affaires Etrangères que toutes les demandes déjà formulées par l'Espagne seraient accordées, que ce serait possible qu'on y ajouterait au dernier moment des conditions auxquelles le Ministre de Sa Majesté ne pourrait se trouver autorisé d'adhérer, ou que dans le cas où des propositions sur des questions de formes retarderaient la conclusion définitive d'un arrangement on rendrait le Sultan responsable du délai.

Mon Gouvernement, après les dernières nouvelles qui lui ont été transmises par Mr. Hay, apprendraient avec les sentiments les plus pénibles que l'Espagne aurait refusé d'agréer comme satisfaisante la réponse du Gouvernement Maroccain, et, quoique je regarde une telle éventualité comme impossible c'est mon devoir d'exprimer à votre Excellence l'importance qu'on ne cesse à Londres d'attacher à la solution paisible de la question, ce que je me suis décidé de faire par écrit, craignant que votre Excellence pourrait être empêché de me recevoir demain.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 36.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1859.

SPANISH Minister has given me declaration which he was instructed to make with respect to Morocco.



Substance of this declaration is that Spain has no object but guarantee against further insult from Moors. Spain will not injure commercial interests of other nations, and will not occupy on Straits of Gibraltar any position which would give her a dangerous superiority.

I accepted these assurances as satisfactory.

Spanish Minister promised that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and British subjects in Morocco should be respected by Spanish forces.

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No. 37.

*Señor Collantes to Señor Isturiz.*—(*Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Señor Isturiz, October* 25.)

(Télégraphique.)

JE vous prie de voir au plus tôt possible Lord John Russell et de lui renouveler de la part du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté les mêmes assurances que j'ai donné ici à Mr. Buchanan, Ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique, à savoir, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'a d'autre but dans sa question avec le Maroc, et dans la guerre qu'il est forcé d'entreprendre, que celui d'obtenir des garanties contre la répétition des insultes qu'il souffre depuis longtemps de la part des tribus du Riff; que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté est bien loin de vouloir blesser les intérêts d'aucune autre nation. J'ai dit à Mr. Buchanan que le Gouvernement Espagnol n'a pas la moindre intention d'occuper dans le Détroit de Gibraltar, aucun point dont la possession puisse donner à l'Espagne une supériorité quelconque dans ces parages qui puisse paraître dangereuse à la sécurité de la navigation en général. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté reste et restera fidèle à ses intentions primitives dans cette affaire. Il veut respecter les intérêts des autres nations tout en faisant respecter les siens dans la guerre avec le Maroc. Son but est clair, précis et déterminé Il ne cherche que des réparations pour les anciennes offences et des garanties pour l'avenir.

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No. 38.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.**

(No. 457.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1859.

M. ISTURIZ called upon me this morning, and read to me a declaration which he had been instructed to make of the intentions of the Spanish Government in going to war with Morocco.

M. Isturiz, at my request, left this paper with me, of which I inclose a copy herewith for your Excellency's information.†

I told M. Isturiz that Her Majesty's Government greatly regretted the determination of the Spanish Government to go to war, as they believed that if time had been given for communication with the Sultan, and for the due examination of questions of boundaries, which were now very imperfectly understood, satisfaction might have been obtained from Morocco for all reasonable demands on the part of Spain.

I said that with reference to the war which had now unhappily been determined upon, there were three points to which Her Majesty's Government attached importance:—

1. With regard to Tangier, as to which they considered the assurances which had been given by the Spanish Government to be satisfactory.

2. As to the permanent occupation by Spain of any portion of the Moorish coast, by which a command would be obtained of the passage into and out of the Mediterranean. Upon this point I said I was glad to have received from him the satisfactory declaration which he had just read to me.

3. They were anxious for the safety of the lives and property of British subjects in Moorish towns which might be attacked by the Spanish forces, and they were especially desirous to receive assurances from the Spanish Government that the house and person of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier

* A similar despatch was addressed on the same day to Mr. Buchanan. † No. 37.

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who had been instructed to remain at his post, would be duly respected by the Spanish troops.

M. Isturiz replied, that he was sure Her Majesty's Government need feel no anxiety upon the latter point, as he could have no doubt that every consideration, compatible with a state of war, would be shown for the interests of British subjects in Morocco; and that in the event of Tangier being occupied by Spanish troops, Mr. Hay would be perfectly secure from molestation or injury.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 39.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 128.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 26, 1859.

YOUR despatches to No. 453 of the 13th instant have been received and laid before the Queen.

Your efforts to maintain peace between Spain and Morocco are entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government.

It appears, however, from your despatches Nos. 449 and 451, that there was so strong an excitement in favour of war, both in the Spanish Government and the nation, that no third Power was likely to be listened to. It is probable that if the second and third ultimatum of Spain had been accepted by Morocco, a fourth and a fifth would have been pressed on the Sultan.

Yet the true interests of Spain did not require war. The insults of a wild Moorish tribe hardly deserved the costly preparations which have been made to avenge them. The Sultan was ready to punish the criminals who had offended Spanish honour. The acquisition of an additional belt at Ceuta, although it would have added little or nothing to the security of the fortress, might have served as a chastisement to the Power which permitted such aggressions.

On the other hand, the triumphs which may be gained are to be weighed against the sacrifices of men and money which are required. The reviving prosperity of Spain may be checked, and her commerce interrupted, by this new crusade.

Her Majesty's Government, always desirous of seeing Spain strong and independent, are sincerely grieved at the breaking out of a war which appears to them to be undertaken without necessity, and therefore without justification. They regret to perceive in the Spanish Councils so great a want of the moderation for which the Spanish Government assumed credit.

You will speak to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs in the sense of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 40.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received October* 26.)

Sir, *Admiralty, October* 25, 1859.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Fanshawe, dated the 18th October, with copy of one addressed by the Vice-Admiral to Mr. Drummond Hay, relative to the arrangements made for the protection of British subjects, and of Christians and Jews generally, in the ports of Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

*Vice-Admiral Fanshawe to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *"Marlborough," at Gibraltar, October* 18, 1859.

WITH reference to your letter of the 10th instant, acquainting me that Her Majesty's Secretary of State having informed the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that it would be desirable to ascertain whether some of the vessels under my orders might not be rendered available for the defence of British subjects at the several places on the coast of Morocco, in case of an attack on such places by the neighbouring Moorish tribes, and signifying their Lordships' directions to me to report fully on the subject, and whether I have any deficiency of means for carrying Lord John Russell's wishes into effect, I have the honour to request you will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships that, after I had closed my letter to you yesterday (in expectation of the packet from Malta), in which I stated that I had placed Her Majesty's steam-frigate "Vulture" at Tangier, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in the doubtful state of affairs between Spain and Morocco, I received a despatch from Mr. Hay in answer to my inquiries on the subject of the probable number which would require protection in the event of hostilities commencing between these countries, a copy of which, and of my reply, I have the honour to inclose, and which will inform their Lordships, and Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of the arrangements which I have made and contemplate for the employment of the vessels under my orders for affording succour to Her Majesty's subjects, as previously directed.

In obedience to their Lordships' orders, I would beg to add that I do not conceive I shall have any difficulty or deficiency of means in carrying Lord John Russell's wishes into effect, unless any fresh complications should occur, or accident arise.

The arrangements now are:—

"Vulture," Captain Campbell, as senior officer at Tangier, with orders to superintend embarkation.

"Cadmus" went there yesterday.

"Quail" to proceed from thence to Tetuan.

"Redpole" gone to Rabat on the 16th.

"Lapwing" went to Tangier this morning with letters, and to return with information, and refugees if desired.

"Scylla" to go this afternoon to Tangier, towing over vessels, if the contractor can obtain them, for bullocks, and act as necessary.

"Coquette" returned from Tangier yesterday, 4 P.M.; held ready to keep up communication, and to proceed, when thought necessary, with

"Doris," along the coast as far as Mogador, and relieve the Consulates.

"Scourge," undergoing repair of boilors, which will occupy a day; she will then be available for any point.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

*Vice-Admiral Fanshawe to Mr. D. Hay.*

Sir, *"Marlborough," at Gibraltar, October* 18, 1859.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of yesterday, and to express my regret at the failure, apparently, of your endeavours to effect a pacific solution of the difficulties between the Governments of Spain and Morocco.

With reference to my instructions from Her Majesty's Government to afford succour to enable Her Majesty's subjects and those of other Christian Powers, and to the Hebrew-Moorish population of Tangier, to withdraw from the country in safety, in the event of a declaration of war between the two countries, I have to thank you for complying with my request, and affording me the approximate number at which you estimate those persons who would be



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desirous of leaving the country, and to assure you that I shall endeavour, by all means at my disposal, to secure their personal safety, and property as far as may be practicable.

For this object, Her Majesty's ships "Vulture," "Cadmus," and "Quail," gun-vessel, are now at Tangier, and I shall be prepared to send other ships if necessary; and the "Doris" frigate, accompanied by a smaller steam-vessel, to the British Consulates on the western coast, previous to the commencement of hostilities; and I have already caused notice to be given to the ship-brokers of this place that freight may be required at those places for embarking cargoes.

I purpose leaving Captain Campbell, of Her Majesty's ship "Vulture," at Tangier, to assist you in the embarkation, and to afford general protection, and to join you in any protest for due time for the purpose, which you may find it requisite to make to the officer commanding Her Catholic Majesty's forces.

The corps of foreign Representatives, desirous of it, could be landed at Gibraltar; and I feel certain that his Excellency the Governor of the fortress will be desirous of affording to all refugees coming over in British ships of war the shelter and hospitality it may be able to afford; but, under the circumstances of limited space and supplies, I beg to suggest that the Representatives of other foreign Powers should be called upon to assist in the removal of persons under their protection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

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No. 41.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 27, 1 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October 26, 1859, 10 P.M.*

THE Spanish Chargé d'Affaires arrived, yesterday, at Algeciras, with all the members of the Mission.

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No. 42.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 27, 10·30 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October 27, 1859.*

I HAVE received the following numbers from Mr. Hay, dated Tangier, October 25, 8 A.M.:—

"Your telegram of the 22nd October received. I suppose it was detained by Spanish Government.

"Spanish Chargé d'Affaires struck his flag-staff this morning. The French Chargé d'Affaires left in charge of Spanish interests.

"Moorish Minister repeated to Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, in a friendly letter, before rupture, that he adhered to the engagement to grant demand of the territory necessary for the defence of Ceuta, but could not admit the basis of Bullones. He offered to refer dispute to arbiters appointed by both parties.

"I have seen a letter from Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, merely announcing his departure, whereupon I asked him whether it was to suspend relations, and a declaration of war, or only form? He answered, the former; and said he would give timely notice when hostilities will be entered upon.

"British vessel of war goes down coast to give notice to British subjects of the state of affairs."

I am told that hostilities will not begin before the middle of November.

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No. 43.

*Lord Wodehouse to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 27, 1859*

I HAVE laid before Lord John Russell your letter of the 25th of October, inclosing a letter of the 18th from Vice-Admiral Fanshawe, and I am to request you to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that his Lordship approves of the arrangements made by the Admiral for the protection of British subjects, and of Christians and Jews generally, in the ports of Morocco.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WODEHOUSE.

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No. 44.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 130.) *Foreign Office, October 28, 1859.*

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 459 of the 15th instant, I have to state to you that you have understood correctly the tenour of my instructions to you.

While Her Majesty's Government wished to have a specific agreement as to Tangier, they do not bind themselves as to the course they may pursue with regard to the Morocco coast generally.

Her Majesty's Government must judge of circumstances as they arise; but if they find that British interests would be injured by the occupation by Spain of any particular port on the Moorish coast, they will give due and timely notice to the Spanish Government.

The evils which may arise out of this aggression on Morocco cannot be easily defined or foreseen.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 45.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 28.)*

(No. 42.) *Tangier, October 17, 1859.*

My Lord,

AT the request of the Moorish Minister, I had an interview with him this day. He presented me to an officer of high rank just arrived from the Sultan's Court, named Hadj Mohamed Zebdy. This officer informed me he had full powers from the Sultan to settle the Spanish demands as they had been put forward in the ultimatum of M. Blanco, of the 5th September; that he did not come to supersede Seid Mohamed Khateeb in his office of Minister, but had received fuller powers than Khateeb possessed, to effect a settlement of the question with the Spaniards, on a reasonable and proper basis; that he had also received strict injunctions from the Sultan not to take any step without consulting with me, and he exhibited two Royal letters, containing the Sultan's signet, giving him the necessary powers, but directing him to consult with me before he acted.

I related to this officer what had taken place in the negotiation. I expressed my approbation of the conduct of the Minister Khateeb; I told him that if the Sultan had in any way disapproved of his conduct for having ceded all he had up to the present time, the responsibility rested upon me, for the Minister had acted at my desire, and that I had even threatened to report him to His Majesty if he had, by undue resistance to unimportant demands, brought about hostilities.

Hadj Mohamed replied that the Sultan knew his Minister had acted by my counsels, and that the best proof of the Sultan's continued confidence in my prudence was the fact of having directed him, as his Plenipotentiary, to confer with me in the first place before he took any step, and that the conduct of Khateeb had not been disapproved.

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I explained to Hadj Mohamed that with regard to the new demand for Sierra Bulloues, I must decline offering any opinion either one way or the other: that my offices had hitherto been merely officious, and not official; that I could not assume the part of a mediator, as it would be necessary that both parties should have agreed to accept my good offices, and that I should have also the authority of my Government; that I avowed with sincere regret I had been misled and deceived by the language of M. Blanco, and that all his promises and engagements had proved to be void and null; that if he, Zebdy, had power to cede all Spain demanded, I had no authority from my Government either to approve or to disapprove; but far from opposing any further concession, I would be glad to hear that a final and amicable arrangement had been come to.

Hadj Mohamed replied that he was empowered to settle the demands as stated in the original ultimatum; but as to granting any district of land, he would never do so without the orders of the Sultan; that His Majesty, he was certain, would never consent to such a humiliating concession, and he added, "If he did, I tell you, without reserve, his subjects would not allow him to carry it into execution."

On relating, in general terms, to Hadj Mohamed that even great and powerful nations sometimes find it their interest to make large territorial cessions rather than enter upon or continue a disastrous war, and I cited a late instance, when Lombardy was ceded to Sardinia, he replied, "That may be the case, but such concessions ought only to take place after defeat."

I pointed out to him that Spain possessed the science of war; and that brave as the Moors individually are, they have no discipline or order, and that they would be defeated. Hadj Mohamed replied, "I know you speak to me as a true friend, and tell me painful truths; but let it be said hereafter that we fought and were vanquished, and were then compelled to yield, rather than that we gave up the land of our forefathers, which God has bestowed upon us, without striking a blow. We are," said he, "in the hands of God, and He will defend the right."

Hadj Mohamed then asked if there was no tribunal of appeal amongst nations; if other Powers looked on quietly when one Government chose to dictate to another, because it thought itself the stronger. I replied that the conduct of the Spanish Government, when published to the world, would certainly produce very unfavourable impressions on the minds of honest men, but that was not the question at this moment; the question was, how to prevent war, and all its consequences, without looking to whether the Spaniards had acted rightly or wrongly, as, whilst we were talking, Spanish vessels might be shelling Tangier, and their troops assulting the town.

After some further conversation, Hadj Mohamed suggested to Khateeb to send a message to the Spanish Mission, before he replied to the demand about the Sierra Bullones, to ask where it is. This was done, and the answer was received, "It is Apes' Hill." Your Lordship is, no doubt, aware that Apes' Hill, or Abyla, is a mountain about 2,000 feet high, in front of Gibraltar, extending some ten or twelve miles from Ceuta, and very rich in lead ore, antimony, and copper; there is also good land for cultivation in the valleys on the eastern side. Parsley Island, which we occupied last war, lies at the foot, a little to the westward, of the mountain.

On receiving the reply from the Spanish Vice-Consul, Hadj Mohamed turned to Khateeb and said, it was no use to present his full-powers to treat, as such a demand could not be listened to, and he, therefore, requested Khateeb to write to M. Blanco at once to say the demand could not be acceded to without a reference to the Sultan, and to protest against the Spanish Government declaring war upon the pretext of such a demand. Khateeb asked Zebdy if he thought it would be advisable to protest; and Hadj Mohamed replied, "If you do not; I shall."

Seid Mohamed Khateeb subsequently sent to me a copy of the letter, of which I herewith annex a translation

The Spanish demand for a further cession of territory is put, as usual, in ambiguous language; but I have heard since that the Spaniards will not insist on the cession of all Apes' Hill, but from the slopes on the eastern side. This would form a territory with a radius of, at least, five or six miles.

Hadj Mohamed told me the Sultan was sending a body of his Cavalry to



chastise the Angerites, and had been prepared to carry out *bonâ fide*, and in a friendly spirit, all that had been engaged by Khateeb.

Hadj Mohamed observed he was convinced France must have encouraged Spain in entering upon a war against Morocco; and he spoke of the French fleet at Algeciras, and of preparations made on the Algerine frontier for an invasion. I combatted this view by stating that the British Government had received assurances from France that it did not entertain any ambitious views of conquest in Morocco, and I asked Khateeb if M. de Castillon had not very lately given him an assurance to that effect. Khateeb replied that he had. I acknowledged I had heard rumours of an intended attack by the French upon the tribes near Ouchda, who were supposed to have assisted Mohamed Ben Abdallah in his razzia on the Algerine territory, and I said I thought the Sultan's best policy would be to withdraw all his Royal troops from that neighbourhood, and "close his eyes" till the French had taken the satisfaction for the late outrage, and their troops had withdrawn. Hadj Mohamed replied, in a low voice, "Khateeb has already given His Majesty that advice, in your name, and His Majesty says, please God, it shall be acted upon, as the wild tribes of his dominions were the first offenders; but," added Hadj Mohamed, "this must be kept secret between us."

During our conference, to-day being the great Feast of the Circumcision, when the tribes assemble in this neighbourhood, we heard that a body of 300 armed mountaineers, who had collected outside the gates, were waiting for reinforcements, and intended to enter the town, and to commit excesses. Both Hadj Mohamed and Khateeb took immediately all the steps in their power to prevent the entry of these wild people; and, at the request of Khateeb, I summoned my friend the Reefian Chief, Hadj Abdallah, and called upon him, with his fellow-huntsmen and followers, to defend the gates of the town, and the Christian and Jewish population. These measures were fortunately taken in good time; the mountaineers were overawed by the armed body of Reefians who presnted themselves at the gates, accompanied by some Moorish troopers, and they withdrew. I mention this little incident as a fresh proof of the good behaviour and friendly feeling of the townspeople and peasants of the neighbouring districts, and of the desire of the Moorish authorities to do all in their power to prevent Christians from being insulted or molested.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S., October 18.—It appears, from some indirect communications received from a party in connection with the Spanish Mission, that Spain does not demand the cession of all Apes' Hill, but a district from the eastern slope of of the mountain, and the Spanish lines will then extend along the side of the Ximera mountains, forming a radius from Ceuta of at least five or six miles, within which Moorish castle and mosque, situated about three miles from Ceuta, is situated. I sent Her Majesty's Consul this morning to the Moorish Minister to ask whether he could not make this concession upon certain modifications, even without a reference to the Sultan, if I used any insistance. The Minister replied that any concession of territory which included the Moorish castle "Dar-al-Baida," about three miles from Ceuta, could not be made without a reference to the Sultan, and that he was convinced His Majesty could not, and would not, make the concession, as the Moorish population would not consent to submit to the Sovereign who delivered over, under menace, the land of the Mohamedans to a foreign country. I take no further steps without instructions, as I feel convinced it would be perfectly useless, and that I should only put myself in the position of advising this Government to do that which it could not agree to, nor if agreed to, carry into execution without a revolution.

J. H. D. H.



PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON F.O.

Inclosure in No. 45.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

(Translation.) *October* 17, 1859.

WE have received your letter of yesterday, October 16, and have understood its contents, and we are much astonished at all you have stated therein, for it is not in accordance with that which you had told us in our interviews with you, nor in your previous letters. We have been empowered, as we told you, to settle those demands that you mentioned in your letters of the 5th of September and 5th of October, and we further agreed in our letter of the 15th of Rabea the First, that you should occupy the high ground requisite for the defence and security of your town, but not with any other view. You had stated to us in conversation, that you supposed that high ground might even be within the marked boundary. We are not acquainted what is the site you call Sierra Bullones, but if it be the place which persons have told us it is, viz., about three hours' journey from Ceuta, we have no authority or power to make such concession. Such a demand must be referred to the Sultan, and a suitable term named to enable us to refer the matter to His Majesty, who is at Meknas, and that His Majesty has time to consider it and to reply.

We do not conceal from you our extreme surprise that you should have written to us as you have done, after the friendly manner we have acted, acceding to demand after demand, on three different occasions, solely with the object of satisfying you.

Should you break off relations and declare war, as you have stated, because we did not cede that which we have no power or authority from the Sultan to grant, we shall protest against you for all the consequences that may happen, now and hereafter.

We have to repeat, however, we adhere to the engagements we have made to fulfil the demands mentioned to you in our letters, but not according to the construction you choose to put upon our words in your letter, for we have no power to make such concessions.

Peace. (Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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No. 46.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 28.)

(No. 43.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 18, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Hammond's despatch No. 21 of the 11th instant, transmitting me copies of the correspondence which has passed between your Lordship and Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid on the subject of the differences between Spain and Morocco.

With reference to the contents of those inclosures, and the present demand of Spain for a cession of territory, containing a radius, as the crow flies (according to a Spanish map I have just received), of at least five or six miles, I beg, in confirmation of what I have repeatedly stated in my despatches regarding the bad faith kept throughout this negotiation by the Spanish Government, and by their Representative here, to draw your Lordship's attention to all the correspondence that has taken place between Seid Mahomed Khateeb and M. Blanco, and the verbal explanations and assurances (as reported in my despatches) given by the latter of the intentions of the Spanish Government, both to Khateeb and to myself; and, more especially, I beg to refer to the language of M. Collantes to Her Majesty's Minister, as reported by his Excellency in his despatch No. 411 of the 25th September, when the Spanish Minister said: "Spanish lines should include some elevated ground contiguous to them, from which the Moors, at present, had been able to annoy the advanced sentries of the garrison." And then again: "Marshal O'Donnell distinctly stated, in answer to my inquiry whether an increased rayon round Ceuta was included in the Spanish demands, that no cession of territory would be asked for, if the satisfaction required by Spain was granted without war." And again: "To cede a few metres of territory."



I find, also, in Mr. Buchanan's despatch No. 412 of September 25, he had distinctly stated to M. Collantes, when speaking of the concession of territory to be made: "but with the strict understanding that the new limit was to be final." In the decypher of Mr. Buchanan, of October 5, his Excellency says: "Spanish Minister will not withdraw his pretension to exact new delimitation of Ceuta as past reparation, as he says the demand has been communicated before expiration of term for answering ultimatum."

I will not venture to offer any opinion whether such a view is correct according to the usages of civilised nations, namely, to put forward a fresh demand before an ultimatum is acceded to, within the term granted; but, in justice to the Moorish Government I must declare, all that could be understood from the Spanish ultimatum of the 5th of September, and from M. Blanco's explanations of its contents, was granted before the 5th of October—the 6th of October being the end of the first term; that new demands also were made subsequently on two occasions, and were again ceded before the 15th instant, the second term. That the present demand is an afterthought, and, therefore, most unjust, is, I think, satisfactorily substantiated by the fact of the Spanish Government having assured your Lordship, on the 26th September, through M. Isturiz, which was repeated by the Spanish Minister at Madrid, through Mr. Buchanan, that Spain renounced all views of territorial aggrandisement; yet, on the 16th October, contrary to the formal assurances made verbally by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to Seid Mohamed Khateeb, and, I may add, on my word of honour, to myself, when using my good offices to bring about a settlement, M. Blanco asks for a cession of a radius of some six miles of territory. It may not be called a conquest, but I doubt whether Spain would not make use of the words "territorial aggrandisement" if a demand were put forward by Great Britain to extend the present Gibraltar lines to a radius of six miles from Her Majesty's garrison.

Your Lordship will pardon me if I dwell upon these proofs of bad faith, and submit them to your Lordship's judgment; for I feel, as any Englishman would, and must feel, especially when he has the honour to represent his country, and that, confiding in the promises and assurances made to Her Majesty's Government by that of Spain; confiding in the written declarations of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, and the assurances repeatedly made to me, in conversations I had with him, I had taken upon myself to counsel, urge, and even insist, in a peremptory manner, with the Sultan, and his Minister, that various important concessions should be made, pledging my word that if the Moorish Government did what I advised, I was certain the matter would be arranged peaceably, and no further demands would be put forward. I therefore feel I have, though unintentionally on my part, assisted, in a painful manner, in misleading this Government; I feel, also, that in making known to them, on several occasions, in consequence of the assurances I had received through Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, that Spain did not desire war, as long as her just and reasonable demands were acceded to, that I have told an untruth.

I will not attempt to enhance the results of my labours, when, on three different occasions, fresh demands were put forward, and which, until I had compelled the Moorish Government to yield, I had neither rested day nor night; but I must avow to your Lordship I feel that the Spanish Government, instead of appreciating and gratefully acknowledging the good offices and successful efforts of the Agent of a friendly ally as that of Great Britain, and, therefore, showing a spirit of moderation, have augmented each time their demands and the arrogance of their language, as concessions were effected through my agency.

With regard to the present demand, I know I am powerless. I know the Moorish Minister cannot grant it, without orders from the Sultan, unless the Spaniards greatly modify it, or limit their claim to a rayon which does not include the Moorish castle in front of Ceuta: His Majesty would not, and could not, make the concession. Your Lordship's instructions, moreover, up to the present time, do not appear to authorize me to urge the cession of such a tract of land, especially as I imply from the telegrams I have received from your Lordship, giving directions, based upon the language of the Spanish Ministry, that I had only to counsel the Moorish Minister to cede a piece of ground, which would prevent the Moors from continuing to annoy the garrison of Ceuta.

I have already stated to your Lordship that the Spanish garrison of Ceuta

had never been annoyed by the Moors since the boundary lines were marked in 1845, until August 1859: but, be that as it may, if the Spaniards are put in possession of lines of seven miles of extent, on a mountain ridge, covered with rocks and woods, I think it will be acknowledged they will be more likely to be annoyed than at the present time, when they possess only a mile and a-quarter, or thereabouts, of territory, in length, and about the same extent in breadth. The ground now occupied is free of wood or brushwood.

I take the liberty of bringing these matters under your Lordship's consideration, and speaking, without reserve, my opinions; for I am convinced if the Moorish Government, by force of arms, or by other combination of circumstances, finally consented to yield the territory now demanded, it will be the commencement of a series of questions and conflicts between Spain and Morocco which will never be terminated until the Moorish population are driven from this country, or until the Spaniards are driven back within the walls of Ceuta.

Whilst I write this despatch, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires is causing his furniture and effects to be embarked, and Spanish subjects have been warned to quit before the lapse of three days; but, up to the present time, the Spanish flag flies at the Mission, and no further announcement has been made to the Moorish Minister that relations will be broken off.

I have given notice to British subjects to prepare to leave the country, and to place their property in safety elsewhere; but I do not cause any one to be embarked till a rupture of relations takes place, for I have to await information from the Admiral and Governor of Gibraltar, as to where the British subjects and others are to be conveyed; for it may be very inconvenient to Her Majesty's garrison, especially at a moment when it may be very hard pressed for provisions, in consequence of a stoppage of traffic from this side of the water, to receive a large increase of population within its narrow territory.

Three of Her Majesty's ships now lie in the bay, ready, however, for any emergency.

In conclusion, I beg to add that, should your Lordship consider that I have expressed myself too warmly in this despatch, regarding the conduct and bad faith of the Spanish Government, I hope your Lordship will be pleased to take int consideration that I feel deeply to have had the misfortune of being the channel of communicating to this Government assurances on the part of the Spanish Ministry and the Agent, which have been broken in a manner highly repulsive to the ideas of honour and integrity which every English officer and gentleman ought to entertain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No 47.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 28.)

(No. 46.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 21, 1859.

M. BLANCO, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, landed yesterday evening from the Spanish frigate on board of which he had remained in quarantine, in this bay, for five days.

The Moorish Minister informs me that no direct communication, verbal or written, has been made to him by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires since his return to the Mission.

I have prepared the Moorish Minister and the Sultan's Plenipotentiary to make every concession that is in their power, if the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires puts forward any further proposition for a settlement; and I acquainted the Moorish Minister with the language held by Mr. Buchanan, in his telegram of the 18th, regarding the distance of Bullones from Ceuta being only two and a-half miles.

I will not recapitulate the Moorish Minister's language, as the inclosed translation of a letter he has since addressed me contains the pith of what he said in replying to the counsels I offered.

I have already mentioned to your Lordship my opinion regarding the



conduct of the Spanish Government, and their Agent, throughout the negotiation, in a late despatch. I will not, therefore, encroach on your Lordship's time by giving the many proofs I am prepared to bring forward, if an inquiry should be made, how I have been misled by the assurances given me, and verbal explanations offered by M. Blanco, and also by the language of the Spanish Ministers, as reported by Mr. Buchanan.

As your Lordship may suppose, my chief argument with the Moorish Minister, when urging upon him to accept, on three different occasions, the new constructions put upon the various ultimata by the Spaniards, was, to repeat the assurances made by the Spanish Minister to Mr. Buchanan, that, if accepted, peaceful relations would be restored, and no fresh demand put forward; whilst I also reported to the Moorish Minister the explanations and assurances received by me from M. Blanco; all which, however, have turned out to be, as Khateeb says, "void," and unworthy of credence.

An attentive perusal of the different letters of M. Blanco to Khateeb since the 5th September will afford, I think also, sufficient evidence of the unaccountable tergiversation of the Spanish Government. In the first ultimatum, Blanco demands only right of building in the "campo." In the second he demands the right of building within the boundary ("dentro de la linea"), and therefore on pasturage ground as well as "campo." In the third he asks for the "high places," and refers to a letter of the 3rd October, in which high places are mentioned, as a proof of the demand having been previously put forward; yet M. Blanco chooses to ignore, or, I suppose to forget, that on the 5th, two days after his letter of the 3rd, he had stated in most distinct and explicit terms, that the fortifications to be raised should be "dentro de la linea" (within the lines). And lastly, after giving the Moorish Minister and myself an assurance that if the Moorish Government admitted their right of raising fortifications on the "contiguous heights," he thought it probable it would be found the heights alluded to were within the present lines, or immediately in their vicinity, and certainly did not extend to Dar-al-Baida,* he sends in a note, demanding that a district six miles from Ceuta should be the basis of the demarkation.

I am not surprised at the present request of the Moorish Minister that, for the future, a written guarantee should be obtained before I urged him to accept any proposition of the Spanish Government, after the bad faith that has been kept, and the advantage taken of the ambiguous expressions inserted, expressly I suppose, in their various ultimata; nor can I find fault with the moderate language of the Minister, when reflecting on the part I have unintentionally taken in misleading him.

Yesterday I received your Lordship's telegrams of the 18th and 19th instant.

As the Moorish Minister can give me no positive information regarding Bullones, or the nature of the ground in that district, and as the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires has not specified what is the extent of territory required by Spain, and as no one here can give any distinct or satisfactory information regarding that territory, so as to enable me to form any conjecture as to the reasonableness of the Spanish demand, and whether the possession of the territory claimed would really be conducive to the safety of the Spanish garrison, or whether it is, as I apprehend, an afterthought, emanating from the Governor of Ceuta, who covets the possession of some arable land in that direction, which, if ceded, may only lead to interminable disputes and conflicts between Spain and Morocco, I have decided, unless any objections should be raised, after consulting with the Admiral, to proceed in Her Majesty's tug "Redpole" to the ground, accompanied by a British officer in plain clothes, and by two or three Moors, and inspect the ground, so as to enable me to send a report to your Lordship.

If some step of this kind be not taken, I fear that even if there is an understanding finally come to between Khateeb and the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to send engineer officers to the ground, all arrangements regarding the tract of land to be ceded may be broken off in consequence of the Moorish officers putting forward, perhaps from sheer ignorance, needless opposition to the Spanish demands; or, on the other hand, that the Spanish engineer officers may claim territory which does not strengthen or insure the safety of the garrison.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

* The castle in front of Ceuta.

Inclosure in No. 47.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) 23 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 20, 1859.)

WE think it is proper we should repeat to you in writing that which we said to you in our interview of this morning in answer to the verbal communication you made to us, that the Spanish Government had told your Ambassador at Madrid that Bullones is only two miles and a half from Ceuta, that is, about forty minutes' walk, and that the Ambassador had told you the concession of this territory was better than war. Now this account of the territory required by Spain is very vague, especially as persons here who know Bullones, inform us that the journey up hill and down dale is distant from the walls of Ceuta about three hours. You were present when the Spanish Vice-Consul sent to us to say, in reply to our query, that Bullones is Gebel Mousa (Apes' Hill). Now you know where Apes' Hill is, and where Ceuta is, and the distance between the two sites. If the language of the Spanish Government is correct, and that from the walls of Ceuta to the new boundary they covet, is only a a distance of two miles and a half, let the Spanish Government enter into a formal declaration to that effect with your Government, in writing, and then we shall be able to depend on an assurance made through your Government, and if it be a reasonable and proper boundary it shall be taken into consideration and accepted, so that peace may follow, and an end be put to these differences; but if the territory claimed is more than we can cede, according to our present powers, or those which the trustworthy officer lately arrived from the Moorish Court, Hadj Mohamed Zebdy, possesses, we will refer the claim to our Lord the Sultan.

We hope you will not take offence at what we are now about to state, which is, that from the day of your conference with us at Tetuan, and all that you then proposed, we agreed to, in order to meet the wishes of your Government. The Sultan, in like manner, confirmed what we had done, but you will remember that you told us at Tetuan, that if we ceded the demands stated in the letter of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires of the 5th September, a peaceful and amicable settlement would be come to; but, after we had acceded to those demands, the Spaniards brought forward others. Then you communicated to us verbally the language of the Spanish Government to your Ambassador at Madrid, and also what the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires promised to you; but all this again turned out to be void. Then a third time the same thing happened, and we find no reliance is to be placed on their words; and when we accede to their wishes, they put forward new claims, or twist the language of their ultimata as may suit their fancy.

We, God's servant, are persuaded that all you tell us is exactly what they have told you, and what your Ambassador has been told by the Spanish Government; for we know, from experience, that English officers never separate themselves from the truth, neither do they add to, nor take off from, what they have given their word to, neither do they practise deceit. We know also, from the language held to us by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Señor Juan Blanco, that all he said to you corresponds with what he assured us, and, nevertheless, that it turned out to be void. We have, therefore, now to beg of you, for the future, to have the goodness to ask your Ambassador, or the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, when they communicate anything from the Spanish Government regarding their wishes, that the latter put it in writing before it be communicated to us, so that the Spanish Government may no longer mislead you and us. We desire peace; we desire a reasonable and amicable settlement which may be proper for us to accept, and also good for them; but, as to Dar-al-Baida,* do not suppose we shall ever concede it, and we know the Sultan will never concede it, for war will be better than the revolt of his own subjects. If the Spanish complain of annoyance from the Kabail, when they had a territory of less extent, how will it be when they have a larger territory? You urged us to cede the new territory asked for, to prevent future dissensions and conflicts; but we appeal to your good judgment, after reflection, to say, even if the Sultan ceded what they want, whether a month would pass before we had fresh conflicts and questions, and many more

* Moorish guard-house.



than at the present moment. We are now in the hands of God, to whom all praise be given. We desire peace, but war is better than to humiliate the honour of the Sultan and his subjects.

Peace. (Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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No. 48.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 28.)

(No. 480.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 23, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, duplicate copies of the statements made yesterday in the Senate and in the Congress of Deputies by Marshal O'Donnell in announcing the declaration of war against Morocco.

The gentlemen at present doing duty with Her Majesty's Legation are so much occupied that I have been obliged to forward the inclosures without being accompanied by translations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

*Extract from the "Madrid Gazette" of October* 23, 1859.

*El Señor Presidente del Consejo de Ministros.*—Señores: Me levanto profundamente conmovido á manifestar al Senado que las esperanzas que el Gobierno ha abrigado hasta ahora de terminar de una manera pacifica nuestras diferencias con Marruecos, se han desvanecido completamente. A pesar de la moderacion que el Gobierno ha empleado en su demanda; á pesar de los plazos repetidos que ha dado, el Gobierno se ha creido ya en el caso indispensable de mandar retirar nuestro Consul, cortar toda clase de negociaciones y confiar en que el Dios de los ejércitos bendiga la justa causa, porque justa es la que vamos á defender. Cuando tenemos la justicia y la razon de nuestra parte, Dios protegerá el valor y el entusiasmo de nuestro ejército y nuestra marina.

Sin perjuicio de observar el Articulo Constitucional que previene dar cuenta documentada á las Cortes, trayendo el expediente de todas las negociaciones que han mediado, cumple, sin embargo, al Gobierno dar algunas explicaciones sobre las negociaciones seguidas y el resultado que han tenido.

Desde que se firmó el Tratado de 1845, habia reinado una completa paz entre la plaza de Ceuta y las tribus fronterizas, merced á existir delante de la plaza una guarnicion más ó ménos numerosa de tropas del Sultan, al mando de un Jefe que cuidaba de impedir todo acto de hostilidad contra ella.

En este estado, á fines de Agosto, una noche fueron echadas abajo las armas de España que existian en los límites que señalaban el territorio Marroqui distinguiéndolo del que formaba parte de la plaza de Ceuta; de consiguiente, invadieron el territorio Español y cometieron algunos pequeños actos de hostilidad contra nuestros centinelas. El Gobernador offició á nuestro Consul en Tánger, dándole conocimiento de lo ocurrido, para que reclamára del Ministro del Sultan, residente en Tánger, que es el que se entiende con los Cónsules, la reparacion de este agravio; al mismo tiempo dió cuenta al Gobierno de Su Magestad.

A este primer insulto, sucedieron al dia siguiente nuevas hostilidades contra los centinelas que se establecian en el campo limítrofe. El Gobierno de Su Magestad pasó una nota á nuestro Cónsul en Tánger reclamando la inmediata satisfaccion del agravio, que fuesen castigados los culpables, repuestas las armas que habian sido arrancadas y repuestas por las autoridades Marroquíes; que se saludase el pabellon, y se castigase á los Moros culpables del atentado que se habia cometido, entre los cuales era el primero el Jefe que mandaba la fuerza que se hallaba en el Serrallo.

La contestacion del Sultan fué reconocer la justicia que teniamos para

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hacer esa reclamacion; la necesidad de darnos satisfaccion y de castigar á los culpables, y aun dijó que habia dado disposiciones para ello. Pero miéntras se decia esto por el Ministro del Sultan se cometian nuevos actos de agresion contra la plaza de Ceuta, viniendo, no ya pequeños grupos de Moros, sino fuerzas de consideracion 400 ó 500 hombres, que tuvieron un combate el 23 ó 24 de Agosto la guarnicion de la plaza.

En esos momentos murió el Sultan de Marruecos; y el Ministro del Sultan, reconociendo siempre la justicia de nuestras reclamaciones, manifestó la situacion en que se encontraba Marruecos: que acababa de morir el Sultan; que no habia todavia Gobierno constituido, por las dificultades originadas en la crisis por que pasaba el Imperio; y por último, rogaba encacecidamente al Gobierno que le concediese un nuevo plazo para poder dar las satisfacciones que creia justas, y que estaba en animo de dar el Gobierno Marroqui.

El Gobierno Español se ha conducido, como el Senado verá por la relacion de ahora, y más tarde por los documentos que presentará á su tiempo, con toda templanza y moderacion; pues no llevaba otro objeto que el de obtener una reparacion justa y el desagravio de nuestra honra.

A pesar de que la ocasion no hubiese podido ser más propicia, puesto que aquel pais se hallaba en una completa anarquia, el Gobierno Español no tuvo inconveniente en prorogar ese plazo; y sin embargo de que el primero no se concedio más que por 10 dias, este segundo se concedió por 20. Pero se pedian seguridades para el porvenir. Continuaron las negociaciones, siguiendo siempre dispuesto el Gobierno del Sultan á dar satisfacciones (al ménos en sus contestaciones asi lo manifestaba), aunque nunca llevándolas á efecto.

Se nos pidió un tercer plazo, manifestando el Ministro del Sultan que tenia plenos poderes del nuevo Soberano que habia subido al Trono de Marruecos, para negociar y terminar nuestras diferencias con aquel Imperio. El Gobierno Español concedió el terçer plazo de nueve dias, que espiraba el dia 15. Se pasó una nota por el Ministro de Estado á nuestro Cónsul, en la cual se decia que era preciso se nos diese satisfaccion para la honra, y que como seguridad para el porvenir, se nos diese extension de territorio hasta las alturas y puntos convenientes, á fin de ensanchar los limites de la plaza de Ceuta, y proveer á su seguridad contra las invasiones de las Kabilas fronterizas.

La contestacion del Sultan fue que estaba dispuesto á dar las satisfacciones que España exigia por los agravios inferidos á su honra; y que en cuanto á la extension de terreno que pediamos para la plaza, aceptaba el principio de darnos el territorio necesario hasta el sitio y alturas convenientes para la seguridad y ensanche de la plaza de Ceuta.

Cuando el Gobierno recibió esta contestacion, estaba ya en el caso de formular las satisfacciones, y las formuló en los términos que va á manifestar al Senado.

Pidió para desagravio de nuestra honra, que fuera precisamente el Gobernador de Tánger ó de Tetuan el que viniese frente de la guarnicion de Ceuta á levantar las armas Españolas que habian sido echadas al suelo, y á reponerlas por su mano en el sitio que habian sido arrancadas. (Bien, bien.) Pidió asimismo, que las tropas del Emperador de Marruecos fuesen las que accompañaran al Gobernador de Tánger ó Tetuan, y que esas tropas hiciesen el saludo al pabellon Español; que se castigase al frente de la guarnicion de Ceuta por las autoridades y fuerzas Marroquies á los culpables del atentado, los cuales el Gobierno Español no decia quienes fuesen, pues el Marroqui era el que debia conocerlos y designarlos, castigandolos por su propia mano en el sitio donde se infirió el agravio, para que alli donde se habia derramado la sangre Española, la sangre Mora viniese á lavar la mancha que se habia inferido al pabellon Español. (Bien, bien. Aplausos.)

En la cuestion de territorio se dijó: que puesto que estaba conforme el Gobierno de Marruecos en ceder hasta las alturas y terrenos necesarios para la seguridad de la plaza, se nombrasen dos Comisionados por el Emperador de Marruecos, y por el Gobierno Español dos Oficiales de Ingenieros; que estos Comisionados hiciesen el deslinde de los nuevos limites, tomando por base la Sierra de Bullones, pero dispuestos siempre al más ó el ménos, porque esta sierra sigue diferentes direcciones, y los Comisionados podian proceder en este punto con el mejor acuerdo hasta que hubiese una completa avenencia.

Creo que los Señores Senadores comprenden que no cabe más moderacion ni más templanza en el Gobierno Español.



Voy á decir ahora al Senado cuál ha sido la conducta del Gobierno de Marruecos. No ha dicho que no aceptaba, porque este ha sido su sistema; pero cuando ántes nos habia dicho el Ministro del Sultan que tenia plenos poderes para tratar con el Gobierno Español y terminar las negociaciones, ha contestado despues que no tenia bastantes poderes para resolver la cuestion de limites, y que era preciso prorogar indefinidamente el plazo, hasta que consultase al Emperador de Marruecos, lo pensára este y diera contestacion. En vista de esto, el Gobierno Español ha creido que no era posible ya dar mas plazo.

En cuanto á la manera de dar satisfaccion al Gobierno Español, desentendiéndose completamente de esta cuestion, no dijo si aceptaba ó no lo que el Gobierno Español exigia.

Despues de esto, el Gobierno creeria que faltaba á la confianza de la Reina, y á todo lo que la nacion tiene derecho á exigir del Gobierno, que debe mantener muy alta su honra y el nombre que ha conquistado, si prolongára ni aun por veinte y quatro horas este estado de cosas. En su consecuencia, dió órden al Cónsul para que, contestando á la nota que habia pasado el de Marruecos (porque al contestar á la del Gobierno Español el Ministro del Sultan nos hacia varias inculpaciones, suponiendo cosas que no habian existido), y despues de dar una contestacion cumplida, pasase una nota declarando al Ministro del Sultan, que las negociaciones quedaban rotas y que la suerte de las armas decidiria quién tenia más razon.

Este es, pues, el estado del negocio, Señores, lo digo con sinceridad, con sentimiento lo dice el Gobierno, porque deseaba la paz, pero paz digna y decorosa para la nacion Española; ha buscado todos los medios racionales; ha pedido todas las satisfacciones convenientes; y puesto que no se han dado, ya no es tiempo de contemplaciones; es preciso que la fuerza las imponga. El Gobierno cree, obrando asi, ser intérprete de los sentimientos del pais, y poder contar con todos los Españoles cuando se trata de una cuestion de honra nacional.—(Repetidos aplausos.)

Debo declarar que no es una cuestion de ambicion la que nos lleva á Marruecos; no es un principio de conquista: vamos solo á exigir satisfacciones, y satisfacciones cumplidas: si la obtenemos; si se nos dan garantias para el porvenir; si ademas de esto se nos da, ya rotas las negociaciones, la indemnizacion que la nacion Española tiene derecho á exigir, satisfecha ya nuestra honra, prontos estaremos á hacer la paz y á demostrar al mundo que nunca la ambicion ni ningun pensamiento villano nos llevá allá, sino los deseos de mantener alto el nombre Español, que aunque algunos por desgracia han podido creer que estaba muy bajo, yo espero que el valor de nuestro ejército y de nuestra marina demostrará que todavia está tan alto como estaba en sus mejores tiempos.—(Prolongados aplausos.)

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Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

*Extract from the "Madrid Gazette" of October* 23, 1859.

*El Señor Presidente del Consejo de Ministros.*—Señores: Despues de las palabras que ayer tuve el honor de dirigir al Congreso, creo que el ánimo de los Señores Diputados está preparado á recibir la grave noticia que el Gobierno tiene que comunicarles. Nuestras relaciones con Marruecos, no solamente están interrumpidas, sino que el Gobierno ha creido que era llegado el caso de apelar á las armas, para recibir (aplausos generales)—para recibir la satisfaccion del agravio hecho al honor de la nacion Española, y para conseguir los medios de evitar en lo sucesivo que se vuelan á repetir los hechos de que voy á dar cuenta al Congreso; porque cree el Gobierno que sin prejuicio de dar cuenta documentada á las Córtes como previene la Constitucion del Estado—(aplausos)—de los motivos que ha tenido para proceder asi, cree, sin embargo, que al participar que estamos ya en estado de guerra con Marruecos, deben saberse las principales causas que han obligado á esta declaracion, y sucintamente el curso que ha seguido este negocio.

Nuestras relaciones con el Imperio de Marruecos, respecto de nuestras posesiones en Africa, se dividian en dos clases: las unas hacian referencia á la plaza de Ceuta, y las otras á nuestros presidios menores de Alhucemas, Melilla y el Peñon. En estos últimos, por los Tratados existentes con el Emperador de

Marruecos, no tenía este responsabilidad alguna de los hechos que cometian las tribus semi-salvajes que los rodean; y así es que, segun ellos, el Gobierno Español estaba autorizado para rechazar con el mortero y el cañon (es la expresion que usa el Artículo del Tratado) toda agresion por parte de los Moros. Pero en Ceuta, desde el Tratado de 1845, al señalar los límites que tenía la plaza y designar un campo neutral, se habia establecido una Autoridad de Marroquíes con una fuerza de lo que allí llaman Moros de Rey, que eran los que cuidaban y vigilaban para impedir todo acto de agresion contra la guarnicion de la plaza.

Este estado se ha conservado desde 1845, porque efectivamente desde entónces nuestras relaciones con respecto á esta plaza han sido amistosas, y no ha habido ningun hecho que deplorar. En Agosto último fué cuando los Moros, sea los que estaban de guarnicion, sea los que permitió la guardia que se acercaran, vinieron sobre nuestro territorio, y echaron abajo la piedra en que estaban puestas las armas de España, que servia de límite entre el campo Marroquí y el Español. El Gobernador de Ceuta, por la mañana, conferenció con el cabo que mandaba el Serrallo; este se disculpó y el Gobernador dió cuenta á nuestro Cónsul en Tánger, al mismo tiempo que al Gobierno de Su Magestad, del hecho acaecido. Pero aquel dia ya se cometieron más actos de hostilidad y se hizo fuego sobre los centinelas de la compañía de mogataces que se estableció en los límites de los dos campos.

Mientras venian las reclamaciones al Gobierno de Su Magestad, se presentaron ya en número considerable, pues no bajaban de 500 ó 600, y atacaron las fuerzas de la guarnicion que salieron de la plaza hasta llegar al límite de los dos territorios para defender el nuestro; hicieron fuego sobre ellas, y se batieron; hubo, pues, este acto más considerable de agresion.

Cuando el Gobierno tuvo conocimiento de estos hechos, previno al Cónsul nuestro en Tánger, y por consiguiente nuestro Encargado de Negocios, que hiciese saber al Ministro del Sultan que el Gobierno Español no podia de ninguna manera tolerar el insulto y los actos de agresion que acababan de cometerse; que creia ó queria creer, que habian sido contra la voluntad del Sultan; pero que habiendo tenido lugar ya la agresion, debia seguirse pronto la correspondiente satisfaccion; por consiguiente, que se restableciesen en su sitio las armas de España por los Marroquíes; que el pabellon Español fuese saludado por sus autoridades, y que al frente de los muros de Ceuta y de las autoridades Marroquíes fuesen castigados los culpables.

El Ministro del Sultan dió contestacion completamente satisfactoria; dijo que estaba dispuesto á dar las satisfacciones que se habian pedido; que en aquel momento daba las disposiciones conducentes para prender á los culpables; y por último, que las llevaría á efecto, sin embargo de que consideraba que la culpa la tenia la guarnicion de Ceuta que salia de la plaza; disculpa que, como comprende el Congreso, no era admisible; porque si la guarnicion no podia salir dentro de los límites que eran suyos, esto era un contraprincipio; pues era negar la propiedad del territorio que nos está señalado, y cuyo deslinde está hecho por señales de piedra en que están las armas de España.

En las instrucciones que se habian dado al Encargado de Negocios de España, se le habia prevenido que en el término de diez dias debia exigir la satisfaccion, ó retirarse de lo contrario. En esta situacion murió el Emperador de Marruecos, y el Ministro del Sultan, manifestando siempre que estaban dispuestos á dar la satisfaccion que pediamos, hizo presente el estado del Imperio, la necesidad de dar tiempo á que se estableciese allí el Gobierno, por las dificultades que allí ocurrian siempre en las variaciones de sucesion.

El Gobierno Español, que no queria más que la justicia; que no aspiraba mas que á la satisfaccion de los agravios y que queria da una nueva prueba de su moderacion, aunque confiaba poco en la buena fé de los Marroquíes, prorogó el plazo por veinte dias. Durante este tiempo, y despues de concedido este plazo, léjos de haber cesado las agresiones contra la guarnicion de Ceuta, se repitieron en mayor escala y hubo dos combates con los batallones de cazadores que acababan de llegar á Ceuta, combates en los cuales corrió la sangre Española, pues tuvimos varios heridos: la agresion no podia ser mayor, y naturalmente la reparacion tenia que subir en la misma escala de las ofensas que nuevamente se habian recibido.

Volvió á pedirse un plazo de nueve dias por los Marroquíes, reconociendo, como siempre, nuestros derechos, y diciendo que estaban dispuestos á satisfacernos. Les dimos el tercer plazo, pero con la condicion de que nos habian



de dar tambien garantías para el porvenir, y en esa nota que se pasó, al mismo tiempo que se encarecia la necesidad de darnos satisfaccion de las ofensas hechas, se decia que una de las condiciones que exigiamos, era sacar á Ceuta de ese círculo, por decirlo así, de hierro, en que estaba enclavada, y que se nos habia de ceder el terreno necesario y los parajes y alturas convenientes para la seguridad de la plaza y el indispensable desahogo de la guarnicion.

El dia 13, dos dias ántes de espirar el plazo, el Ministro del Sultan manifestó que tenia plenos poderes del Emperador para terminar la cuestion pendiente con España, que aceptaba en principio todo lo que pediamos, y se concedería la extension de Ceuta, hasta las alturas y parajes convenientes para la seguridad y desahogo de la plaza de Ceuta. En este Estado, el Gobierno creyó que, tratándose de llevar á cabo efectivamente el arreglo de las cuestiones pendientes, y estando el Ministro del Sultan plenamente autorizado para ello, debia fijar las cuestiones de la manera siguiente.

Satisfaccion del agravio; que el Bajá de Tánger y Tetuan viniese al frente de Ceuta à restablecer las armas de España en el mismo sitio en que fueron quitadas; que tropas del Sultan han de acompañar al Bajá y han de saludar al pabellon Español en desagravio de las ofensas que se le han hecho; que los reos del delito, á quien el Gobierno Marroquí debia conocer, debian venir al frente de la plaza de Ceuta á sufrir el castigo en el mismo sitio en que habia corrido la sangre Española. Además, estuvimos todo lo moderados que podiamos estar en la cuestion de límites. Convenidos en que era preciso marcar ciertas alturas y parajes, dijimos al Sultan que nombrase dos Comisionados, y nosotros nombrariamos por nuestra parte dos Ingenieros que, de comun acuerdo, hiciesen las nuevas limitaciones, tomando por base la Sierra de Bullones; pero como esta es muy extensa, se previno se hicieran en ella las limitaciones convenientes.

Así las cosas, el Congreso comprendera cual habra sido la sorpresa del Gobierno de Su Magestad, cuando despues de condiciones tan moderadas y prudentes ha contestado el Ministro del Sultan, no diciendo que no acepta las condiciones, sino que lo que se le pide es mucho, y que no tiene poderes suficientes para hacer esta negociacion, que tiene que consultar al Emperador de Marruecos, y este decidirá. ¿Qué se habia de contestar á esto despues de las consideraciones y de la moderacion que habiamos usado? ¿Debiamos, por ventura, conceder un nuevo plazo al Gobierno Marroquí? No, Señores; porque á la concesion de ese nuevo plazo se oponia le dignidad nacional (aplausos), y hasta el honor del Gobierno y del país, que habian dado muestras de moderacion y de templanza concediendo ya tantos plazos, y no aprovechándose del estado del Imperio Marroquí, con lo cual habrá contestado á los que creian que un espíritu de conquista y no de justa reparacion nos llevaba á Africa.

De consiguiente, se manifestó al Encargado de Negocios, á consecuencia de esta nota, que en ella habia varias inexactitudes, y que desde luego las relaciones quedaban rotas, y la suerte de las armas decidiria quién tenia razon; la fuerza de las armas, que es la última razon de los Reyes y de los pueblos. Hemos, pues, venido con confianza á manifestarlo todo al Congreso, porque tenemos la conviccion de que el Gobierno ha obrado con toda la moderacion y templanza propias de una nacion que es grande, aunque se crea lo contrario; que tiene grandes medios para hacer respetar su honra y dignidad, como lo hará siempre, poniéndolas á la altura de la nacion que las tenga más altas.

No vamos animados de un espíritu de conquista, no. El Dios de los ejércitos bendecirá nuestras armas; y el valor de nuestro ejército y de nuestra armada hará ver á los Marroquíes que no se insulta impunemente á la nacion Española, y que iremos á sus hogares, si es preciso, á buscar satisfaccion. (Fuertes aplausos.)

No nos lleva un espíritu de conquista; no vamos á Africa á atacar los intereses de la Europa, no; ningun pensamiento de esta clase nos preocupa; vamos á lavar nuestra honra, á exigir garantías para lo futuro; vamos á exigir de los Marroquíes la indemnizacion de los sacrificios que la nacion ha hecho; vamos, en una palabra, á pedir con las armas en la mano la satisfaccion de los agravios hechos á nuestro pabellon. Nádie puede tacharnos de ambiciosos; nádie tiene derecho á quejarse de nuestra conducta. Firmes en nuestra razon y en nuestro derecho, el Dios de los ejércitos hará el resto. (Grandes y repetidos aplausos.)

No. 49.

*Sir E. Lugard to Mr. Hammond.*—(*Received October* 28.)

*War Office, October* 28, 1859.

Sir,

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Herbert to transmit to you, for the information of Lord John Russell, the inclosed copy of a despatch from the Governor of Gibraltar, reporting that he is making arrangements for the reception of such persons as may take refuge in Gibraltar from Tangier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD LUGARD.

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Inclosure in No. 49.

*Lieutenant-General Sir W. Codrington to Mr. Sidney Herbert.*

*Gibraltar, October* 18, 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that war between Spain and Morocco being considered by Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier as imminent, Admiral Fanshawe has made arrangements for the possible withdrawal of Christians and Jewish inhabitants from that place.

I have stated to the Admiral, on a question as to where they were to be landed, that, though it was not my wish to invite additional inhabitants to Gibraltar, yet that Gibraltar cannot refuse to be considered a temporary refuge in case of difficulty and danger to life. The number of refugees probable is stated in a private communication, to be about—

| | |
|---|---|
| British subjects .. .. .. .. | 400 |
| Foreign Christians .. .. .. | 150 |
| Hebrew .. .. .. | 500 or 600 |

I am therefore making preparations that, if necessary, they may be allowed to land and remain here: many will probably be located among those of their own religious persuasions; but I may possibly have to lodge many in some large huts on the north front, or encamp them there. In that position they will be in a better sanitary situation, both for themselves, and as regards the town, than if crowded amongst the inhabitants.

The cholera at Algeciras is producing alarm amongst Spaniards residing in places near Gibraltar. Many seem inclined to flock into this place; but I have desired that, although permits for the day be given as usual, permits of residence for periods be suspended.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. CODRINGTON.

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No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 29.)

(No. 483. Confidential.)

*Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 460 of the 16th instant, marked Confidential, reporting my proceedings in the Moroccan question, I have the honour further to acquaint your Lordship that, after I had received Mr. Drummond Hay's telegram of the 15th instant, which was forwarded from hence to your Lordship on the 16th, I addressed to M. Calderon Collantes a confidential letter, of which a copy is inclosed herewith, expressing my opinion that Her Majesty's Government would consider the extension of the rayon of Ceuta to a distance of eight or ten miles from the fortress, as a conquest which would not be justified after the assurances which they had received from Her Catholic Majesty's Government.

Next day I received your Lordship's telegram of the 17th instant, informing



me that Her Majesty's Government could not consent to such a cession of territory by Morocco, as it would give Spain the command of the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar; and I lost no time in communicating their views upon the subject to M. Calderon Collantes by the letter of which Inclosure No. 2 is a copy, informing his Excellency at the same time that Her Majesty's Government would expect time to be given, as he had promised me on Saturday (the 15th instant), for an ample investigation of the question under this European aspect.

On the 18th instant I received a reply from his Excellency, of which a copy and translation are inclosed (Inclosure 3), and in which, while his Excellency treats as exaggerated the reports received by Her Majesty's Government from Tangier, and points out that a cross-fire could not be established between the Bullones and Tarifa, which he assumes to be the only apprehension entertained by Her Majesty's Government, he renews, in some degree, the assurances which I had received from him on Saturday, the 15th instant, as to the legitimate interests of other Powers being respected, when the boundary is traced, which it is proposed shall be established on the basis of the Sierra Bullones.

I called the same day at the Foreign Office, and the Under-Secretary of State showed me a map, on which he said he had measured the distance between Ceuta and the Sierra, and had found it to be little more than two and a-half miles, a distance which agreed with measurements I had myself made. As I thought it, however, necessary to reply to M. Calderon Collantes' observations with respect to Tarifa, I addressed to his Excellency the letter of which Inclosure No. 4 is a copy, stating that Her Majesty's Government had made no reference to that fortress, but that they had merely informed me that they could not consent to Spain holding any territory in Africa on which batteries might be constructed, which could establish a cross-fire with others on some point of the Spanish coast.

On the 19th instant I received your Lordship's telegram of the same date, instructing me to ascertain precisely from the Spanish Government the distance to which they intended that the territory asked for should extend from Ceuta, and the names of the points on the coast which would be included in the new boundary; and, with a view to procure this information with the least possible delay, I addressed to M. Calderon Collantes the letter of which Inclosure No. 5 is a copy. In the course of that night I received Mr. Drummond Hay's telegram of the 18th instant, which was immediately forwarded to your Lordship, informing me that the Moorish Government refused to cede the territory in question, and that a declaration of war by Spain against Morocco might therefore be immediately expected. I consequently called at the Department of State early in the day to ascertain what decision the Spanish Government had taken with reference to the news from Tangier, and also to ask for an answer to my letter of the previous evening.

M. Calderon Collantes, having admitted me to an interview, placed in my hands the paper of which a copy and translation are inclosed (Inclosure 6), and which, he said, contained answers to my questions which had been agreed upon in the Cabinet, and would, he trusted, prove satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government; adding, that though six miles had been put down in the Cabinet as the distance which might be possibly required, the Under-Secretary of State believed that half that distance would suffice, in order to obtain a commanding position on the heights.

M. Calderon Collantes repeated, at the same time, the observations which he had made to me on the previous Saturday, stating that his instructions had been misunderstood at Tangier, and that his intention of opening a negotiation, through Commissioners, as to a new boundary, on the basis of the Bullones, had been taken as a demand for the cession of the whole sierra, or ten miles of territory; whereas the line asked for by Spain would certainly not extend beyond a distance of about six miles from the "plaza." I inquired what he meant by the "plaza," asking whether it included in it the "pasto," or the "campo," and was told neither: but that the distance was calculated from the actual walls of the fortress.

His Excellency also repeated his former assurances that if, in tracing a new boundary, it could be shown that the possession by Spain of any place on the coast to the east of where it was proposed to run could be considered dangerous to the free navigation of the Straits, it would not be included in the territory to

be ceded. I said this was a most important point, on which it was necessary that we should clearly understand each other; and I repeated his Excellency's words, asking him if I was authorized to communicate them, as an engagement on the part of the Spanish Government, to your Lordship. His Excellency answered in the affirmative; and after some further explanations, from which it appeared that I had understood him to say, on the 15th instant, that the basis of the Bullones had been acceded to, and time would be allowed for discussion; whereas he merely promised that time should be allowed if that basis was accepted: he desired M. Comyn, as he was himself obliged to go to the Cortes, to afford me every information which I might wish to have on the subject, and to show me the last instructions sent to M. Blanco del Valle.

While M. Comyn went to fetch them, I made the Memorandum, subjoined to his Excellency's answers to your Lordship's queries, of the verbal assurances I had received from him; and on M. Comyn's return, I inquired whether I had taken an accurate note of them, which he acknowledged that I had.

M. Comyn then said, that M. Blanco del Valle had never been instructed to define the amount of territory which would be considered by the Spanish Government a sufficient rayon for Ceuta; and the Government had not, consequently, considered itself bound by any explanations which he had given on the subject. It had, therefore, desired him to propose that the Sierra Bullones should be adopted as a basis for a new boundary, and that two Commissioners should be named by each Government, to examine the points through which it would be expedient that it should pass.

These instructions were dated the 12th instant; and as the Moorish Government had acceded, in the interval, to the principle of an extension of the rayon, M. Blanco came over to Algeciras, in the hope that he might induce the Spanish Government to accept what he had done as a sufficient basis for the eventual arrangement of the question. He was, however, reprimanded for leaving his post, by a telegram forwarded to him on the evening of the 15th instant, by which he was desired to return to Tangier and present his note, allowing the Moorish Government four days to answer it.

Having received this information, I left M. Comyn; but I called upon him again, after having having examined a Marine chart, for which I was indebted to Mr. Lumley, and according to which the distances between the headlands of the territory asked for by Spain, and those of the opposite Spanish coast, varied from seven to ten miles. I must acknowledge that he showed unfeigned surprise at this information, and immediately carried the chart to M. Calderon Collantes, who, I believe, was equally unprepared for the light which it threw upon the question. I left the chart with them; and in the evening I received your Lordship's telegram of the 20th instant, 5 P.M., urging me to procure immediate and categorical answers to your Lordship's queries of the preceding day. I, therefore, forwarded immediately to M. Calderon Collantes the letter which forms Inclosure No. 8, acquainting him with the further instructions which I had received, stating that he could not expect Her Majesty's Government to be satisfied with the answers he had given me, and pointing out that if Spain went to war to conquer territory which she could not hold without compromising the freedom of the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar, the question would present itself in a most serious aspect. I prepared, however, at the same time an official note for delivery to his Excellency on the morning of the 21st instant, which I forwarded to him at an early hour, accompanied by an explanatory letter, of which Inclosure No. 9 is a copy, and in which I embodied that part of your Lordship's telegram of the 20th instant, 6 P.M., in which you point out that the possession of the territory in question by Spain would be objected to by Her Majesty's Government, even if a cross-fire could not be established between it and the opposite coast. A copy of my note above referred to is inclosed in my despatch No. 484 of this date.

On the 21st instant, I had an interview with M. Calderon Collantes on the subject, and he seemed to wish that I should state to what points on the map the objection of Her Majesty's Government would apply, and how much of the coast west of Ceuta might be occupied by Spain without opposition on their part. I said I felt assured Her Majesty's Government would never consent that Spain should occupy the Point Bermeja, or any of the coast to the west of it; but that possibly they might not object to Morocco ceding to her the shore between the above-mentioned point and Ceuta: but that I was not in a position



to speak in their name upon the subject, or to enter into any arrangement with respect to it. I said that he might, however, make a declaration which would be binding on the Spanish Government, if accepted as satisfactory by Her Majesty's Government. M. Calderon Collantes did not attempt to maintain that Spain could occupy Point Bermeja, and he seemed to approve of my suggestion, declaring in the strongest terms that the Spanish Government had never thought of occupying the coast, so as to acquire a command over the Straits.

With reference also to an observation on my part that Spain, if she declared war, would do so to conquer territory which she could not hold, and must eventually abandon, his Excellency said that I was in error, because the last note received from the Moorish Minister had rendered nugatory and unacceptable the former general assurances received from him respecting the satisfaction to be given for the insults offered to Spain. He said the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires had defined in an official note the manner in which the Spanish Government would require these assurances to be fulfilled, and the answer which he had received offered no explanations whatever upon the subject. Though, therefore, your Lordship may fairly consider Mr. Hay justified in attributing to the refusal to grant a boundary on the basis of the Bullones the declaration of war, the ambiguous language of the Moorish note as to the satisfaction, now that no great extension can be made to the rayon of Ceuta in the direction indicated, will be made an excuse for a war, which the Government cannot avoid without exposing themselves to the ridicule of their political opponents, and to being driven from office by the discontent of the people.

In the evening of this day I received Mr. Drummond Hay's telegram of the 20th instant, which was immediately forwarded to your Lordship, and I communicated its substance to M. Calderon Collantes, by the letter of which Inclosure No. 10 is a copy, pointing out to him that the Moorish Government was evidently ready to yield all that Spain could legitimately ask for.

Late the same night I received your Lordship's telegram dispatched from London at 2 P.M., and I felt some embarrassment as to whether I should execute the instructions it conveyed to me, or refer for explanations to your Lordship. I had asked the previous day for authority to protest against Spain acquiring by force a greater extent of coast in Africa than she at present possesses at Ceuta, if I did not find her disposed to abandon that pretension. If I had thought, therefore, that your Lordship's telegram was merely an answer to my suggestion, I should not have acted upon your instructions, as I had satisfied myself in the course of the day that war could not be prevented by a protest respecting the territory, and had reason to hope that I should get a declaration as to it, which would be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government. From the tenour of your Lordship's instructions, however, I conceived that Her Majesty's Government might possibly be prepared to resist the conveyance of the Spanish army to Africa, if their application that time should be granted to examine the question of the territory, and for the Sultan to consider the last demands addressed to his Government, were rejected. I therefore felt that no discretion was left to me on the subject. Though I thought that to state to the Spanish Government that the concessions already made to them by the Government of Morocco were principally due to the influence of Great Britain, would excite to the highest degree the jealousy and susceptibility with which I have had to contend during the last two months, I, nevertheless, felt that if a rejection of your Lordship's proposal was to be followed by any action on the part of Her Majesty's naval forces, it was highly expedient that a declaration should be made of the services which had been hitherto rendered to Her Catholic Majesty's Government by Her Majesty's Mission in Morocco. Under these circumstances, I considered that I should not allow myself to be influenced by what had occurred since I dispatched my telegram of the 20th instant to your Lordship, but that I ought to fulfil your Lordship's instructions without delay, and in the terms in which I had received them, the more especially as it was almost certain, unless they caused some change in the intentions of the Spanish Government, that war would be declared on the following day.

I therefore addressed the note to M. Calderon Collantes of which Inclosure No. 11 is a copy.

My expectation that war would be declared on the 22nd instant was

fulfilled; and on the evening of that day I received a note from M. Calderon Collantes, a copy of which is inclosed in my despatch No. 484 of this date, in reply to my first note of the 21st instant, stating that all the demands of Spain had become void by the declaration of war, and that the Spanish Government had no intention to occupy any part of the coast which would give Spain a superiority which would be dangerous to the navigation of the Straits.

Next day (yesterday) it was suggested to me that I would do well to take back my second note of the 21st instant, as I had received a distinct declaration in M. Calderon Collantes' note of the same date, that no territory would be occupied by Spain on the coast which could prove dangerous to the freedom of the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar; and I was disposed to adopt this suggestion, as I felt convinced that the influence of Her Majesty's Government here would be best preserved by avoiding irritating discussions as much as possible, as long as there is no intention or necessity to oppose Spanish views by force.

I received your Lordship's despatches, however, by the messengers Webster and Ridgway in the course of the day, and I therefore addressed to your Lordship my telegrams of yesterday, requesting instructions on this point, and also as to the course which I should adopt with regard to your Lordship's despatches Nos. 110 and 115 of the 15th and 18th instant, in the new phase into which the question has entered in consequence of the declaration of war, and the assurances conveyed to me in the Spanish note of the 21st instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, le* 16 *Octobre*, 1859.

JE viens d'apprendre de Mr. D. Hay, qu'il a raison de croire que le territoire demandé par l'Espagne près de Ceuta s'étend à une distance de dix milles Anglais, dans le district de Angera. Cette information m'a beaucoup surpris, et je ne peux pas cacher à votre Excellence ma conviction que si elle est bien fondée il y a peu de probabilité que mon Gouvernement regarderait l'acquisition par l'Espagne d'une telle étendue de territoire sur la côte de Maroc comme une simple augmentation du rayon de Ceuta qui n'aurait pour objet que assurer cette forteresse contre les insultes de la part des Kabyles, mais que l'on y verrait plutôt une conquête qui pourrait porter atteinte aux intérêts d'Angleterre, et qui ne serait pas justifiée après les assurances que le Gouvernement Anglais a reçues du Gouvernement Espagnol sur ses intentions dans les réclamations qu'il avait adressées au Gouvernement Maroccain, ou pour le cas où il se trouverait obligé de soutenir cette réclamation par les armes.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, le* 17 *Octobre*, 1859.

EN me référant à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence hier, je trouve que je ne dois pas attendre une occasion de l'entretenir verbalement pour la prévenir que je ne me suis pas trompé sur l'impression que devait produire en Angleterre le rapport de Mr. Hay, où il a exprimé la crainte que l'Espagne s'attendait à engager le Maroc à lui céder du territoire près de Ceuta, d'une étendue de deux lieues Espagnols ou de huit à dix milles Anglais.

Dans l'opinion de mon Gouvernement une telle acquisition de territoire ne pourrait manquer d'accroître l'influence de l'Espagne dans le Détroit de Gibraltar, ou même la rendre maîtresse du passage; une éventualité à laquelle le Gouvernement de la Reine ne pourrait jamais consentir.



Mon Gouvernement a une entière confiance dans les assurances que votre Excellence m'a données Samedi passé, qu'aucune décision définitive ne serait prise dans cette question avant qu'elle ne soit amplement discutée sous son point de vue Européen, afin de sauvegarder les intérêts de l'Angleterre et de toutes les autres Puissances maritimes; mais comme le Gouvernement de la Reine s'attend à ce que la promesse que je me suis cru autorisé de lui transmettre à ce sujet de la part de votre Excellence puisse être considérée comme un engagement, je la prie de vouloir bien me prévenir si je me suis trompé en donnant cette signification à notre conversation de Samedi, afin que je puisse, dans ce cas, être à même de rectifier, sous le plus bref délai possible, les impressions de mon Gouvernement.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 50.

*Señor Collantes to Mr. Buchanan.*

Mi querido Señor Buchanan, *Madrid*, 18 *de Octubre de* 1859.

CREO que puede V. tranquilizar al Gobierno de vuestra augusta Soberana respecto á las miras del de mi Reina y Señora.

Aun cuando la Sierra Bullones se tome por base para la demarcacion de los nuevos limites de Ceuta, no abrazarán estos la extension que supone Mr. Hay, ni proporcionarán á la España una posicion ventajosa para dominar el Estrecho.

Habia V. creido que la Sierra Bullones estaba en frente de Tarifa, y que construyendo fuertes en ella sus fuegos podrian cruzarse con los de aquella plaza.

Su equivocacion se habrá desvanecido ya, pero aun cuando hubiera sido exacta la opinion de V., ningun peligro produciria á Gibraltar la posesion de aquel territorio por la España, no teniendo pensamiento de fortificarle sino en cuanto sea preciso para contener las agresiones de las Kabylas.

Juzgo pues que sus temores de V. deben cesar, y que su Gobierno dependrá las prevenciones que ha concebido, sugeridas por Mr. Hay, el cual en esta materia no ha suministrado á V. datos bastante exactos.

De todos modos aceptada la base propuesta por el Gobierno Español, los Comisionados que nombrará con el de Marruecos, examinarán los inconvenientes que pueda tener una u otra demarcacion, y nada pretenderá que sea contrario á los intereses legitimos de cualquiera Potencia amiga y aliada. En este sentido tuve el honor de hablarle en la conferencia ultima del Sabado, en la cual nada dige que pudiera referirse á una discusion amplia de un punto tan sencillo, y que de ningun modo afecta los intereses de las Potencias maritimas de Europa.

Ruego á V. se penetre de estas ideas, y acepta, &c.
(Firmado) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

(Translation.)

My dear Mr. Buchanan, *Madrid, October* 18, 1859.

I THINK you may tranquillize the Government of your august Sovereign with respect to the views of that of my Queen.

Even though the Sierra Bullones should be taken as the basis for the demarkation of the new limits of Ceuta, they will not embrace the extension which Mr. Hay supposes, nor afford to Spain an advantageous position for commanding the Straits.

You had thought that the Sierra Bullones was in front in Tarifa, and that if forts were constructed on the Sierra, their fire could cross with that of the fortress.

Your error will by this time have vanished; but even had your opinion been correct, the possession of that territory by Spain would cause no danger to Gibraltar, as she has no intention of fortifying it, except as far as may be necessary to restrain the agressions of the Kabyles.

I consider, therefore, that your fears ought to cease, and that your Govern-

ment will lay aside the preconceived opinions which were suggested by Mr. Hay, who has not furnished you in this question with sufficiently correct data.

In any case, when the basis proposed by the Spanish Government has been accepted, the Commissioners whom they will name, jointly with Morocco, will examine the objections which may lie to either delimitation, and the Government will seek for nothing which may be opposed to the legitimate interests of any friendly and allied Power. It was in this sense that I had the honour to speak to you at our last conference on Saturday, at which I said nothing which could refer to an ample discussion of a point so simple, and which in no way affects the interests of the maritime Powers of Europe.

I beg you to enter fully into these ideas, and to accept, &c.

(Signed) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, le* 18 *Octobre*, 1859.

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception de la lettre que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser en date d'aujourd'hui, et je m'empresserai d'en communiquer le contenu à mon Gouvernement. Je dois pourtant lui faire observer que le Gouvernement de la Reine ne prétend pas maintenir que des batteries sur les Bullones pourraient établir un fers croisé avec Tarifa, mais qu'il s'est borné à m'informer qu'il ne pourrait pas consentir à ce que le Maroc cédât à l'Espagne une position sur la côte du Détroit où des batteries pourraient être établies en temps de guerre dont le feu pourrait se croiser avec celuï d'autres batteries établies sur un point quelconque de la côte Espagnole.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, le* 19 *Octobre*, 1859.

JE viens de recevoir des instructions de Lord J. Russell de chercher une entrevue avec votre Excellence et de la prier de vouloir bien me fournir pour l'information de mon Gouvernement des renseignements précis sur les points suivants :—

1. Quelle sera l'étendue de territoire qui sera cédée à l'Espagne si la nouvelle délimitation du rayon de Ceuta proposée par elle est acceptée par le Gouvernement Maroccain ?

2. De quel point calcule-t-on l'étendue du nouveau territoire ? est-ce de la limite du terrain cédé en 1845, comme pâturage ? de la forteresse ? ou de la ville de Ceuta ?

3. Combien de milles de la côte seront compris dans la nouvelle délimitation, et quels sont les noms des points de la côte qui y seront renfermés.

Je ne doute pas que les réponses que votre Excellence voudrait bien me donner à ces questions ne soient entièrement satisfaisantes à mon Gouvernement, et en la priant d'avoir la bonté de me recevoir demain, à fin que je puisse l'entretenir à ce sujet, j'ai pensé de faire ce que lui sera agréable en le prévenant, comme je l'ai fait dans les lignes précédentes, de la nature des questions que je suis chargé de lui adresser.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 6 in No. 50.

*Answers to Queries.*

1. SERAN seis millas proximamente que es el terreno necesario para llegar á las alturas y dominar las Kabilas y que la plaza y su guarnicion no sea diariamente hostilizada.

3. El necesario para que el territorio no sea flanqueado, sin mira de ocupar posicion militar en el litoral.

2. Desde los limites actuales de la plaza.

(Translation.)

1. IT will be six miles approximately, which is the ground requisite for arriving at the heights and commanding the Kabyles, and to (prevent) the place and its garrison from being attacked daily.

3. That which is necessary in order that the territory may not be flanked, without any view to occupying a military position on the coast.

2. From the actual limits of the place.

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Inclosure 7 in No. 50.

*Memorandum.*

IN giving me this paper, M. Calderon Collantes explained to me that he could not name the points on the coast which would be included in a line which has not yet been defined or fixed upon; but that when it came to be traced, any point on the coast which could be fairly considered dangerous to the freedom of the navigation of the Strait, if in the hands of Spain, will be avoided.

*Department of State, October* 20, 1859.

I have read this to M. Comyn, who admits its accuracy.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 8 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, ce* 20 *Octobre*, 1859.

JE viens de recevoir des instructions urgentes de transmettre sans délai à Lord John Russell les réponses du Gouvernement Espagnol aux questions que j'ai été chargé hier d'adresser à votre Excellence.

Je les ai déjà expédiées à Londres, mais votre Excellence doit sentir, après avoir pris connaissance de la carte que j'ai laissée avec M. Comyn, que ces réponses ne seront nullement satisfaisantes au Gouvernement de la Reine, qui ayant évidemment étudié la question dont il s'agit, en est pénétré de toute l'importance ; importance qui ne pourrait manquer de se présenter sous un point de vue bien sérieux si l'Espagne venait à déclarer la guerre au Maroc pour le forcer à lui céder du territoire qu'elle ne pouvait occuper sans compromettre l'indépendance de la navigation du Détroit de Gibraltar. J'aime à croire qu'il est à peine nécessaire que je fasse ces observations à votre Excellence pour ui faire sentir la responsabilité qui pèse dans cette question sur le Gouvernement Anglais ; et je me borne à lui exprimer l'espoir qu'elle sera à même demain, si je passe au Département d'Etat, de me donner des renseignements sur les intentions du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique qui écarteront entièrement les inquiétudes que ce sujet doit continuer, malgré les explications que j'ai déjà reçues de votre Excellence, à causer au Gouvernement de la Reine mon auguste Souveraine.

Je ne dois pas cacher de votre Excellence que d'après les termes de mes instructions j'aurais dû lui adresser une note officielle à ce sujet. Mais comme je ne peux pas douter que le Gouvernement Espagnol ne prenne spontanément la décision que les circonstances paraissent demander, je me suis décidé à attendre jusqu'à ce que j'aurai vu votre Excellence, avant d'exécuter la lettre de mes instructions.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 9 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, ce* 21 *Octobre*, 1859.

EN refléchissant sur l'importance sérieuse et l'urgenee des circonstances auxquelles se réfère la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence dans la soirée d'hier, j'ai pensé que ce serait à désirer que votre Excellence eût entre ses mains la note ci-incluse, avant de se rendre au Conseil aujourd'hui, et j'y ai joint une traduction, afin que votre Excellence pût en prendre connaissance sans l'envoyer au Département l'Etat.

Quoique votre Excellence ait déjà répondu à la première des questions qui s'y trouvent formulées, je n'ai pas voulu le séparer de la seconde, comme j'aime à croire que le Gouvernement Espagnol aurait trouvé des raisons, dans un examen plus approfondi des circonstances géographiques des lieux dont il s'agit, pour modifier les renseignements que votre Excellence a bien voulu me donner hier.

Je dois ajouter que je suis chargé de demander des réponses "immédiates" et "catégoriques" aux demandes que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, et que l'importance de la question, dans l'opinion de mon Gouvernement, ne depend pas seulement dc la possibilité d'établir un feu croisé à travers le Détroit; mais il est d'avis, vû que le courant coule par le milieu du canal, et que des bâtiments sortant de la Méditerranée sont obligés passer près d'une côte ou de l'autre, qu'une Puissance qui posséderait des positions sur les deux côtes pourrait efficacement fermer le passage.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 10 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Cher M. Calderon Collantes, *Madrid, ce* 21 *Octobre*, 1859.

JE viens de recevoir un télégramme de Mr. D. Hay par lequel il me fait savoir que si c'était vrai, comme je lui avais dit que j'avais raison de croire, que le Gouvernement Espagnol ne demandait qu'un rayon de deux milles et demi des murailles de Ceuta, les Maures seront disposés à l'accorder.

Il croit pourtant qu'on aurait besoin de l'autorité du Sultan pour céder le château.

Mr. Hay et le Ministre du Sultan paraissent tous les deux regarder toutes les autres demandes du Gouvernement Espagnol comme pleinement accordées. De sorte que, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de la dire à votre Excellence aujourd'hui, si la guerre a lieu, elle n'aura pour cause qu'un malentendu, qui aurait dû être expliqué sur le champ par le Chargé d'Affaires d'Espagne, et qui est dans ce moment-ci susceptible des explications.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 11 in No. 50.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Sir, *Madrid, October* 21, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, with reference to my note of this morning, and our subsequent conversation on the subject of the proposed extension of the Spanish territory at Ceuta, that the Government of the Queen my Sovereign have considered the circumstances too important, and the state of the relations of Spain with Morocco too critical, to await the arrival of any further reports from me; and that I have been instructed to state to Her Catholic Majesty's Government that the influence of the Government of the Queen my Sovereign has been hitherto used earnestly and successfully to induce the Emperor of Morocco to grant the redress demanded by Spain for the injuries which have been offered to her honour by subjects of His Majesty, and to afford every possible security for the future freedom from aggression of the fortress of Ceuta.

Her Majesty's Government, however, consider that the interests of Great Britain and of Europe require that Her Catholic Majesty's Government should be content with these concessions, and that they shculd not seek the possession of territory which could not be held by Spain compatibly with the interests of other nations whose subjects or citizens are engaged in the commerce and navigation of the Mediterranean, which Her Majesty's Government consider would be the case were such an addition made to the Spanish territory in Africa as your Excellency gave me yesterday reason to believe was intended; and they consider that, in so important a question, time should be allowed, in order that it may be impartially examined, and that the Sultan of Morocco, who is at a distance, may be made fully aware of the extent of the demand which has been latterly addressed to him; and I have been therefore instructed formally to ask Her Catholic Majesty's Government to grant the time necessary for these objects, before they declare war to the Emperor of Morocco.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 51.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received October* 29.)

(No. 484.)
My Lord, *Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegrams of the 19th and 20th instant, on the subject of the alleged intention of Spain to obtain a cession from Morocco of several miles of territory on the coast of the Straits of Gibraltar, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a note which I addressed to M. Calderon Collantes on the 21st instant, expressing the objections which Her Majesty's Government would entertain to the occupation by Spain of the coast west of Ceuta; and requesting his Excellency to name the points on that coast which would be included in the rayon of the fortress, if the views of Her Catholic Majesty's Government are carried into effect.

I have also the honour to inclose the copy and translation of an answer which I have received from his Excellency, declaring distinctly that Her Catholic Majesty's Government have no intention to occupy any point on the said coast, which would give Spain a superiority that would be dangerous to the navigation of the Straits.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

*Madrid, October* 11, 1859.

Sir,

THE Government of the Queen my Sovereign have reason to believe, from the reports of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier, and from the late declarations of Her Catholic Majesty's Government in the Cortes, that Her Catholic Majesty is about to declare war to the Emperor of Morocco, in consequence of the Moorish Government having declined a demand on the part of her Government that certain territory lying between the fortress of Ceuta and the mountainous ridge, or Sierra of Bullones, should be ceded to Spain.

From my verbal communications to your Excellency on this subject, you are already aware that the Government of the Queen my Sovereign entertain apprehensions that the cession to Spain of the territory in question cannot take place without seriously compromising the freedom of the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar; and it is, therefore, my duty, in execution of instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to inquire how far Her Catholic Majesty's Government propose that the rayon of Ceuta should be extended, and more particularly to request that your Excellency will have the goodness to name the points on the coast which, in the event of the views of Her Catholic Majesty's Government being carried into effect, would be included within the territory of Spain.

In addressing these inquiries to your Excellency I am further to request that I may receive answers to them at your Excellency's earliest convenience.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

*Señor Collantes to Mr. Buchanan.*

*Palacio,* 21 *de Octubre de* 1859.

Muy Señor mio,

HE recibido la nota que con fecha de hoy se ha servido VS. dirigirme, y me he enterado con especial atencion de su contenido.

En el estado en que hoy se halla la cuestion de Marruecos, por la inconcebible resistencia del Gobierno del Sultan á satisfacer las justas demandas de la España, es muy dificil, sino imposible, para el Gabinete de Madrid determinar, ni aun aproximadamente, la naturaleza de las garantias que podrá verse en la necesidad de pedir para afianzar los resultados de las hostilidades proximas á comenzarse.

VS. no puede desconocer, ni ocultarse tampoco á la ilustracion de su Gobierno, que cuando dos naciones apelan, para resolver sus diferencias, á la fuerza de las armas, al romperse las negociaciones diplomaticas que se siguieron sin resultado, se declaran nulas, y se tienen por no hechas las proposiciones anteriores, reservandose ambas partes el derecho de renovarlas ó de presentar otras diferentes, segun conviene á sus intereses, y corresponde al éxito de las operaciones militares. Apesar de esto, el Gobierno de la Reina mi Señora, que tantas y tan señaladas pruebas ha dada de su espiritu conciliador y recto en los varios incidentes de la cuestion con Marruecos, no cambiará el proposito que desde su origen habia formado, de no ocupar en el Estrecho punto alguno cuya posicion pueda proporcionar á España una superioridad peligrosa para la navegacion. En esta materia sus ideas han sido siempre tan desinteresadas y leales que no puede creer que se haya concebido duda alguna acerca de ellas.

Sin embargo el Gobierno de Su Magestad, en cuyo nombre he dado á VS. repetidamente las esplicaciones necesarias para disipar todo genero de dudas, si tal vez se habian concebido respecto á sus propositos, no quiere omitir la manifestacion consignada, seguro de que el Gobierno de Su Magestad Británica, al pedirlo, no tiene otro objeto que él de poner á salvo los intereses de la Gran Bretaña, y de ningun modo intervenir en la contienda proxima á empeñarse entre dos pueblos independientes.

Aprovecho, &c.

(Firmado) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.



(Translation.)

*Palace, October* 21, 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE received the note which you have had the goodness to address to me, dated this day, and I have informed myself of its contents with particular attention.

In the present state of the question of Morocco, owing to the inconceivable resistance of the Sultan's Government to satisfying the just demands of Spain, it is very difficult, if not impossible, for the Cabinet of Madrid to determine, even approximately, the nature of the guarantees which they may find themselves under the necessity of asking, in order to assure the results of the hostilities which are on the point of commencing.

You cannot be unaware, nor can your enlightened Government either be ignorant, that when two nations appeal, for the settlement of their differences, to force of arms, on the diplomatic relations which have been pursued without effect being broken off, former proposals are declared null, and considered as if they had not been made, while both parties reserve to themselves the right of renewing them, or of presenting others of a different kind, according as it may suit their interests, and correspond to the results of the military operations.

Notwithstanding this, the Government of the Queen my Sovereign, who have given so many and such marked proofs of their conciliatory and upright spirit in the different incidents which have sprung from the question with Morocco, will not vary the intentions which they had formed from the beginning of that question, not to occupy any point on the Straits whose position could afford to Spain a superiority dangerous to the navigation. In this matter their ideas have been always so disinterested and loyal that they cannot believe that any doubt can have been conceived with regard to them.

Nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government, in whose name I have repeatedly offered to you the explanations necessary for dissipating every species of doubt, if by chance it had been conceived with respect to their intentions, do not wish to omit the statement made above, feeling sure that Her Britannic Majesty's Government, in asking for it, have no other object than to secure the safety of the interests of Great Britain, and not in any manner to interfere in the contest which is about to be engaged in between two independent nations.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

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No. 52.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 29.)

(No. 487.)

*Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 459 of the 16th instant, I have the honour to inclose, herewith, the copy and translation of a note which I have received from M. Calderon Collantes, on the subject of the conversation which took place between his Excellency and myself on the 7th instant, respecting the right of Spain to hold some town in Morocco as security for a war indemnity, notwithstanding her promise to evacuate Tangier on the ratification of a Treaty of Peace.

I also inclose the copy of a reply which I have addressed to his Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 52.

*Señor Collantes to Mr. Buchanan.*

Muy Señor mio, *Palacio, 17 de Octubre de* 1859.

HE recibido la nota que VS. se ha servido dirigirme en 12 del presente mes, y me he enterado con especial atencion de su contenido y del Memorandum que á ella es adjunto.

Como quiera que en el texto de dicho Memorandum existen algunas frases, que en mi juicio no se hallan de acuerdo con las indicaciones hechas por el Señor Isturiz con arreglo á sus instrucciones, en las notas que en 29 de Setiembre ultimo, y 6 del presente mes, dirigió al Principal Secretario de Estado de Negocios Estrangeros de Su Magestad Británica, ni guardan armonia con las manifestaciones que VS. tuvo á bien hacerme en la conferencia que celebramos en 7 de este mes, me veo en la necesidad de reproducir aquí de un modo explícito las declaraciones hechas hasta ahora por el Gobierno de la Reina mi augusta Soberana.

Estas declaraciones son dos: la una demostrando la justicia que en la cuestion presente asiste á España, para llevar sus armas à Marruecos si no obtiene la satisfaccion debida, y manifestando que en este asunto procede á impulsos del honor ofendido, y no llevado de un deseo pre-existente de conquesta; consta asi en mi circular de 30 de Setiembre, comunicada á Lord John Russell par el Señor Isturiz en 6 del actual: la otra ha sido la que hice á VS. en mi nota de 7 del presente, probando que el comercio de la Gran Bretaña con Tanger no sufriria grandes perjuicios, puesto que cumpliendo el Gobierno Español sus anteriores propositos, era natural que si ocupaba aquel puerto lo evacuase despues de la ratificacion del Tratado de Paz.

Estas manifestaciones no significaban mas que lo que sus terminos espresan, y á juicio del Gobierno de Su Magestad seria muy aventurado que se pretendiese darles una extension que no tienen ni han podido tener.

Espero que VS. tomando en cuenta nuestras conversaciones anteriores, y especialmente la del dia 7, hará conocer al Gobierno de Su Magestad Británica el verdadero sentido de mis palabras y la trascendencia de mis escritos conformes con los del Representante de la Reina en Londres, en los cuales, como ántes he indicado á VS., no puede ni debe verse sino lo que expresan los terminos en que se hallan concebidos.

Para mayor esclarecimiento de este punto, y como prueba de que el Gobierno de Su Magestad Británica ha debido entender hasta ahora en su sentido propio y estricto las manifestaciones del Gabinete de Madrid, remito á VS. un apunte de la conferencia que el dia 7 tuve la honra de celebrar con VS.

Aprovecho, &c.

(Firmado) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Madrid, October* 17, 1859.

I HAVE received the note which you had the goodness to address to me on the 12th instant, and I have informed myself with especial attention of its contents, and of those of the Memorandum annexed to it.

As there are some phrases in the text of that Memorandum which, in my opinion, are not in accordance with the indications made, in conformity with his instructions, by Señor Isturiz in the notes which he addressed on the 29th of September last, and the 6th of the present month, to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, nor in harmony with the statements which you thought right to make to me in the conversation which we had together on the 7th instant, I find myself under the necessity of reproducing here, in an explicit manner, the declarations which have been hitherto made by the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign.

These declarations are two: the first demonstrating the justice by which Spain is supported in the present question in carrying her arms to Morocco, unless she obtains the satisfaction which is due (to her); and stating that she proceeds in this subject from the impulses of offended honour, and is not carried away by a pre-existing desire for conquest—this is clearly stated in my circular



of the 30th of September, which was communicated on the 6th instant by Señor Isturiz to Lord John Russell; the other (declaration) was that which I made to you in my note of the 7th instant, proving that the commerce of Great Britain with Tangier would not suffer serious prejudice, since the Spanish Government, in the fulfilment of their former intentions, would naturally, should they occupy that port, evacuate it after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

These statements signify no more than what their terms express, and, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it would be very hazardous to attempt to give them an extension which they do not and could not possess.

I trust that you will, taking into account our former conversations, and especially that of the 7th, make Her Britannic Majesty's Government acquainted with the true sense of my words, and with the clearness of my written communications, which are in conformity with those of the Queen's Representative, and in which, as I have before pointed out to you, nothing can or ought to be seen but what is expressed by the terms in which they are conceived.

In order to the better clearing up of this point, and as a proof that Her Britannic Majesty's Government ought hitherto to have understood, in their proper and strict sense, the statements of the Cabinet of Madrid, I inclose to you a note of the conversation which I had the honour to hold with you on the 7th instant.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) SATURNINO CALDERON COLLANTES.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 52.

*Memorandum.*

EN el curso de la conferencia celebrada en 7 de Octubre de 1859, entre el Primer Secretario de Estado de Su Magestad Catolica y el Ministro Plenipotenciario de la Gran Bretaña, despues de tratar sobre la naturaleza de la ocupacion de Tanger por la España, preguntó el Señor Ministro de Estado si al hablar M. Buchanan de aquella plaza se referia tambien á cualquiera otra poblacion de que pudiera posesionarse el ejercito Español en el territorio Marroqui, citando entre otras á Tetuan, Mogador, Laraiche, &c.; á lo cual contestó el Representante Británico que sus instrucciones solo mencionaban á Tanger, y que en su opinion, que sostendria en caso necesario cerca de su Gobierno, Lord John Russell se referia en sus observaciones unicamente á Tanger.

Deseoso el Ministro de Estado de aclarar completamente este punto, volvió á insistir en su pregunta, ampliandola en los siguientes terminos:—¿Quiere decir y quedamos de acuerdo que VS. entiende que á la conclusion de la guerra no suscitaria dificultades la ocupacion por nuestra parte, si asi nos conviniese, como prenda hasta que la indemnizacion fuese satisfecha, de cualquiera de las otras cuidades ó puntos del Imperio?" A lo cual contestó afirmativamente M. Buchanan.

(Translation.)

IN the course of the conversation which took place on the 7th of October, 1859, between the First Secretary of State of Her Catholic Majesty and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, after treating of the nature of the occupation of Tangier by Spain, the Minister of State asked whether, in speaking of that place, Mr. Buchanan referred also to any other town of which the Spanish army might obtain possession in the Moroccan territory, mentioning, amongst others, Tetuan, Mogador, Laraiche, &c.; to which the British Representative replied, that his instructions only mentioned Tangier, and that, in his opinion, which he would maintain, if necessary, to his Government, Lord John Russell referred in his observations to Tangier alone.

The Minister of State, desirous of completely clearing up this point, again insisted on his question, which he amplified in the following terms:—"Is it meant, and do we agree, that, as you understand, on the conclusion of war, the occupation on our part, if it should suit us, of any other city or point of the Empire, as a pledge until the indemnity should be paid, would not raise difficulties?" To which Mr. Buchanan replied affirmatively.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 52.

*Mr. Buchanan to Señor Collantes.*

Sir, *Madrid, October* 20, 1859.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Excellency's note of the 17th instant, together with the Memorandum which accompanied it; and I shall take an early opportunity of forwarding it to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

To the general accuracy of its inclosure, as a report of what passed between myself and your Excellency on the 7th instant, I have nothing to object; but I must observe that it attaches more importance to the expression of my opinions than they deserve. I stated to your Excellency that my instructions on the subject were in your Excellency's possession, and that you could form your own opinion as to their meaning, and the eventual views of Her Majesty's Government; but that I was ready to inform Lord John Russell that I drew the same conclusions from these instructions as your Excellency had done. I have, however, already read to your Excellency a despatch I addressed to his Lordship on the 15th instant on this subject, to the accuracy of which your Excellency has assented, and by the tenour of which I am ready to abide.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 53.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 29.)

(No. 488.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

YOUR Lordship will have learned from my telegraphic despatches of the last few days, the various incidents which preceded the declaration of war on the part of the Government against Morocco, and the very narrow grounds of difference, if any, which actually exist between the two countries.

From the reports of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier, it would appear that the Moorish Government did not intend to retract their former engagements to give satisfaction to Spain for the injuries which she considered herself to have suffered; and Mr. Hay even appears to have been of opinion that the Moorish Minister considered himself to have accepted the demands on that subject, as they were presented to him by Señor Blanco del Valle on the 16th or 17th instant.

With respect to the territorial question also, from the tenour of Mr. Hay's last despatches, and from what I can learn here, there would have been no great difficulty in coming to an arrangement, if negotiation had been continued. It is not, therefore, by what is ostensible that the ultimate cause of the rupture should be judged.

The Government at the first encouraged excitement on a question upon which it is always easy to stir the feelings of the Spanish nation, and which continued insults received during Spanish weakness from the populations of the Reef have always kept open.

Large bodies of troops were collected, preparations were made which excited the hopes of the army that they would have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves; the public was led to flatter itself that the time had come when foreign nations were about to be made acquainted with the great advance which had been made by Spain in military power and in other sources of political influence, and with her right to hold a higher place among the nations of Europe than she has done since the beginning of the century.

At length, therefore, the state of public opinion became such that the Government dared not appear to explain or to modify their demands, when they were misunderstood if reasonable, or rejected if exorbitant.

I believe, however, that the Government and the nation will be as ready to terminate hostilities as they have shown themselves disposed to begin them. A heavy income-tax will teach the nation that war cannot be carried on without sacrifices; and the Government and all sensible men know that the expenditure



which it will create will be most prejudicial to the nascent prosperity of the country, while there is no material interest which can possibly be advanced by it.

I trust, therefore, that when a demonstration of power has once been made, or, at all events, when some trifling successes have been gained against the Moors, the Government will be willing to accept proposals for peace. Their demands, it may be presumed, will now however extend to the improvement of the position of all their fortresses in Africa; but if they occupy the territory which they claim for that purpose, it may be surrendered with little resistance from the Moors, and the difficulty of protecting a large rayon round the fortresses, it may be supposed, will prevent the Spanish Government from forming exaggerated views on this subject.

An indemnity, however, for the expenses of the war, which will doubtlessly be asked for, will probably prove a concession which will not be easily extorted from the Emperor of Morocco, and may lead to hostilities being prolonged to a period which may occasion inconvenience.

It is satisfactory, at all events, to know that the war will not have been commenced until the Spanish Government have given Her Majesty's Government assurances that Tangier, if occupied, will be evacuated immediately after a ratification of peace, and that no part of the coast of Morocco will be permanently occupied by Spain, which could be considered dangerous for the free navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 29.)

(No. 490.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copies of telegrams which I have recently addressed to Mr. Drummond Hay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 13, 1859.

INFORM the Admiral that eighty rifled guns have been sent to Tarifa. This Government expect answer to instructions sent to Chargé d'Affaires on 11th instant. I fear about territory.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 15, 1859, 5 P.M.

THIS Government will send immediate orders to their Chargé d'Affaires, which will prevent hostilities and keep the question of boundary open for further discussion, until the interests of all parties are made clear and properly secured.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 18, 1859, 7 P.M.

I HAVE no instructions for you from home; but I do not think any serious objection will be made there to Spanish interpretation of the amount of territory to be ceded, unless it can be shown that it would give Spain the means of establishing a cross-fire between Africa and some point in Europe. If there is any possibility of this, Moorish Government should, in my private opinion, yield, reserving the right to meet the eventual protests of the maritime Powers. The invention of new artillery will subsequently protect them against Spain making further conquests to the West.

I understand that to-morrow is the last day given for answer.

The Bullones are said here to include little more than two and a-half miles of territory.

Government have declared in the Cortes that unfavourable answer will be followed by war.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 22, 1859, 3 A.M.

DECLARATION of war will probably take place to-morrow.

If Moors had accepted conditions as to how satisfaction was to be offered, and had adopted my suggestion of accepting demand for territory subject to the protest which might be made by Europe, war could not have occurred.

The Spanish Government maintain that their demand for territory was not finite, and that Khateeb wilfully misunderstood it; and that the Sierra was only to be taken as a basis on which to work out an arrangement. The foreign Minister hoped by this means to get rid of terms, and to enter into a negotiation, which, had it failed, could not have made matters worse.

The civil and military elements in the Cabinet have had a struggle, and the Moors have lent their aid to the latter. They will now have to pay a large sum of money, and will be between two invading armies. If they could at the eleventh hour plead a mistake, and come to terms, it would be to their advantage. I fear, however, nothing can prevent war now; but there is no chance of Europe ever allowing Spain to have seven miles of coast at a distance of from seven to ten miles from the opposite shore.

The war now will be for the indemnity alone, as there is really nothing else to fight about.

Since the foregoing was ciphered, I have received your telegram of the 20th.

The Moorish Government should allow no doubt to exist as to their having been ready to give complete satisfaction for offences, by replying, even now, to Spanish Government, that they accept their demand as to form of satisfaction.

Spain could not have allowed the men to be actually shot. Anything that is done now must come from the Moors, and they should send their communication to Algeciras if Chargé d'Affaires has left.

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Inclosure 5 in No. 54.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 22, 1859, 5 P.M.

WAR just declared. President of the Council said that Government would still accept adhesion to their demands, with an indemnity for expenses hitherto incurred. I have received your letters of 17th, and will attend to your wishes. If Moors really wish to beat Spanish army, and punish authors of the war, they will pursue Parthian tactics, and retire before their enemy.

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No. 55.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October* 29.)

(No. 491.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 24, 1859.

I STATED yesterday to Marshal O'Donnell that Mr. Drummond Hay did not intend to leave Tangier in the event of its being attacked; and I expressed a hope that his Excellency would afford Her Majesty's Representative every protection compatible with the circumstances.

He replied, that I might be assured he would take every precaution in his power to ensure Mr. Hay's safety, and that of any subjects of Her Majesty who might be domiciled in places attacked or occupied by Spanish troops.

I also reminded him of the nature of Admiral Fanshawe's instructions; and he stated that every facility would be given to Her Majesty's officers to carry out the benevolent intentions of Her Majesty's Government towards the Christian and native population of districts which might become the seat of war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 56.

*Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.*

(No. 463.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 29, 1859.

COUNT DE PERSIGNY has read to me a despatch from Count Walewski respecting the demands of the Spanish Government on the Government of Morocco.

Count Walewski says that France seeks to gain advantage for herself out of the present state of affairs; that the only object of the French Government is to defend its own frontier against aggression on the part of the Moors; that they have constantly advised the Spanish Government to pay attention to the views expressed to them by Her Majesty's Government; that they had admitted the utility of obtaining an assurance from Spain respecting Tangier, but that they cannot join Her Majesty's Government in remonstrating against the extension of Spanish territory near Ceuta, as they do not consider that, even if more territory were ceded by Morocco on the coast than Spain has demanded, the inconveniences will follow which are apprehended by Her Majesty's Government.

Count Walewski thinks it not unreasonable that Spain should seek for a substantial guarantee against the attacks of the Moors on Ceuta, and he observes that France, whilst abstaining herself from all direct and armed intervention in the affairs of Morocco, cannot feel displeased at steps being taken by another Government to compel Morocco to a better observance of her duties towards neighbouring Powers.

This language corresponds with that held by Count Walewski to your Excellency, and I have no further observation to make on it beyond saying that Her Majesty's Government have been in communication with the Government of Spain upon the subject of the liberty of navigation through the Straits of Gibraltar, and have no wish to discuss further with the Government of His Imperial Majesty a matter upon which the difference of opinion is so wide.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to learn that it is the intention of the French Government to abstain, so far as they are concerned, from all direct and armed intervention in the affairs of Morocco.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL

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No. 57.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 30, 4·10 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, October 26, 1859, 11·30 A.M.*

IN reply to letter of 19th, I have sent all the information I can acquire by telegraph and by post, but Spanish demand was not (?) , and has not been defined, except that the basis of the limits was not Sierra Bullones.

The situation called Bullones is a Moorish castle at foot of the Apes' Hill, about five miles, as the crow flies, from Ceuta, three hours' journey across mountains, and eight miles across to Spanish coast. Any territory Spanish Government asks for beyond two miles from Ceuta walls, proceeds from ignorance of the nature of the ground, or from a desire to obtain cross-fire in Straits from heights. As long as any territory beyond tongue of land only at Ceuta is acquired, and peace made on that basis, it would not last a month, for Moors would be able to annihilate Spanish sentinels much more than now.

No announcement received when hostilities are to commence, but Spanish Chargé d'Affaires wrote to me in reply to my query, that due notice would be given.

Place called Moorish fort in Admiralty chart is the guard-house in front of Ceuta. What I suppose Spain wants is Bullones.

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No. 58.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October .)*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October 30, 1859.*

THIS day's "Gazette" publishes an official notification of the effective blockade of the ports of Tangier, Tetuan, and Laraiche, from the 28th October.

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No. 59.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 31, 1859.*

HER Majesty's Minister at Madrid reports that Marshal O'Donnell promises that every step shall be taken to insure your safety, and that of British residents in places attacked by Spaniards; and that every facility shall be given for removal by British ships of population endangered by war. Send the archives of Consulate to Gibraltar, and send away all women and children from Tangier, which will, probably, be attacked.

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No. 60.

*Lord Wodehouse to Sir E. Lugard.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 1, 1859.*

I HAVE laid before Lord John Russell your letter of the 28th ultimo, with its inclosure, reporting the preparations making by the Governor of Gibraltar for receiving there British subjects and others obliged to withdraw from Morocco, on account of the war between that country and Spain; and I am to request you to inform Mr. Secretary Herbert that Lord John Russell approves of the arrangements of Sir William Codrington for the above purpose.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WODEHOUSE.

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No. 61.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(No. 47.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 2, 1859.*

WITH reference to what is contained in your despatch No. 43 of the 18th ultimo, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct in the negotiations which you have carried on with the object of preventing war between Spain and Morocco; and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government attach no blame to you for trusting to the assurances of the Representative of the Spanish Government respecting their demands upon Morocco, as it was impossible to tell that little reliance could be placed upon those assurances.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 62.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 135.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 4, 1859.*

HER Majesty's Government entirely agree with the observations contained in your despatch No. 488 of the 24th ultimo.

They are of opinion that if the request of the British Government for time, which was made on the 21st instant, had been acceded to, the points of difference would probably have been reduced to a quarter of a mile, more or less, for the rayon of Ceuta, or, at all events, to some very trifling question upon which war would have been impossible.

The demands of Her Majesty's Government on the question of Tangier, and the freedom of the navigation of the Straits, have been satisfied by the frank assurances of the Spanish Government; and Her Majesty's Government have no desire to interfere in the proceedings of two independent nations towards each other.

Her Majesty's Government cannot but regret, however, as the constant supporters of the independence, and the sincere well-wishers of the prosperity of Spain, that she should waste her energies and impair her resources by a war which can add nothing to the strength of Spain, but may weaken the only authority which can check and control the wild tribes of Angera and the Reef.

The sooner Spain escapes from the burthens of such a war, the better the promise of her future progress in wealth and consideration.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 63.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 136.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 4, 1859.*

I RECEIVED on the 29th ultimo, and have laid before the Queen, your despatches from No. 483 to No. 491 of the 24th ultimo.

With reference to the first of those despatches, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve entirely the conduct you have pursued, under difficult circumstances, in the matter of the differences between Spain and Morocco.

I am, &c

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 64.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 4.)*

(No. 48.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October 24, 1859.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 46 of the 21st instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, the day before yesterday, I embarked on board Her Majesty's steam-tug "Redpole," accompanied by Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Dodgin, of Her Majesty's ship "Vulture," and Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Reade, we proceeded to the Moorish territory in front of Ceuta. At the request of the Moorish Minister, the present Governor of Reef, Kaid Abbas Emkisheet, accompanied us. This officer is, I understand, appointed by the Sultan—when a preliminary understanding has been come to with the Spanish Government—to assist in the demarkation of the new boundary lines which may finally be decided upon.

The "Redpole" came to an anchor, in the Moorish waters, about a mile and a-half to the westward of the Spanish lines. On our landing, we were met by two Angerites, who received us kindly, and, guided by them, we proceeded to inspect the Moorish territory between the Spanish lines and the Castle of Dar-al-Baida.

The accomanying sketch, which was made by Lieutenant Dodgin, of the Royal Marine Artillery, will best explain to your Lordship the position of Ceuta, the present boundary of the Spanish territory, and the site of the Moorish castle, as also the mountainous country which surrounds this district on the west. The country, marked in the sketch, which the Spaniards court, is a mountainous district, the peaks varying from 1,000 to 1,500 feet in height, with steep and precipitous sides, studded with crags and rocks, and covered in parts with close underwood. It appeared to us, from the sea, a country which no nation would reasonably desire to take possession of, if they wished to avoid conflicts with the natives. We also passed the site called by the Moors Bullones. It is at the eastern foot of Apes' Hill, about six miles, as the crow flies, from Ceuta, and is not included in this sketch. We observed here three Moorish towers, situated in a gully, and some cultivated ground in a valley or bottom of about a quarter of a mile in extent. From this spot to the opposite Spanish coast is about eight miles, according to Admiralty chart, and the Spanish Government may therefore have other objects in view than the defence of Ceuta, when it desired to extend the territory to Bullones. The heights above, and to the eastward of this spot, appear to be more fit for the habitation of wild animals and monkeys, which are said to abound, than for man; and from which almost inaccessible heights I do not understand how Ceuta ever could be molested.

Captain Campbell has had the goodness to give me, at my request, a copy of the report he has addressed to the Admiral, which, I think, may be interesting to your Lordship, as his opinions on military matters are much more valuable than my own.

On the sketch your Lordship will observe a small cross, near B. It is the site where Her Majesty's tug "Redpole" anchored, and opposite which we landed. A and H are the present lines. From B to D is the only line which appeared to me the Spaniards could reasonably expect the Moorish Government should cede, to prevent annoyance to the garrison from the Angerites. Any lines beyond that would only lead to a constant state of conflicts with the brave mountaineers of that district, who, even were the Sultan to order them to cede any extent of territory, would never forgive or forget the foreigner who had usurped the land of their forefathers. From B to D there are deep ravines, extending from the coast, which intersect each other, and the sea flanks the land on either side.

Nos. 1 and 3—Skeef and Tanar—are the contiguous heights, which, from my previous knowledge of the ground, and from the repeated assurances made to me by M. Blanco, I had supposed the Spaniards desired to possess; and under this persuasion, and in compliance with your Lordship's instructions I had succeeded in inducing the Moorish Minister to agree to concede, even without a reference to the Sultan.

The Moorish Commandant of the Castle came out to meet us, and was very civil. I warned him against allowing the Angerites to commit any aggressions



on the Spanish lines, or to fire at the Spanish sentinels. He told me that, latterly, both parties had avoided an encounter, though, he said, the Spanish cavalry sometimes trespassed on the Moorish territory. The Commandant said he had a parley the other day with the Governor of Ceuta, and that the latter had told him the Spaniards wished to be friends with the Moors; but that the French were using their influence with the Spanish Government to push them into a war with Morocco. I warned the Kaid against putting confidence in the language of the Governor of Ceuta, and explained to him that Spain was an independent nation, which had freedom of action, and could make peace or war with Morocco without reference to the wishes of any other European Powerr

The valuable assistance afforded me by Captain Campbell, and by Lieutenant Dodgin, on this occasion, with the consent of Vice-Admiral Fanshawe, and the inclosed interesting sketch, made by Lieutenant Dodgin, will, I hope, meet with your Lordship's approbation.

I took four Moorish guards with me, and the master of the British courier boat, who knows well that part of the coast. In requiting the services of these persons, and in giving some trifling presents to the Angerites, who were civil to us, I expended the sum of 2*l.* 8*s.* sterling, which I beg your Lordship may authorize me to charge in my account current with the Treasury, at the end of the year.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure in No. 64.

*Captain Campbell to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.*

Sir, *"Vulture," Tangier, October 23, 1859.*

IN accordance with the permission you granted me in your note of the 21st instant, that I might accompany Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires along the coast for the purpose of viewing the nature of the ground outside Ceuta up to Sierra Bullones, I have the honour to inform you that with Mr. Reade, the Consul, Lieutenant Dodgin, Royal Marine Artillery, of Her Majesty's ship "Vulture," and three Moors (one of whom was the Governor of Reef), we left this in Her Majesty's ship "Redpole," at noon, of the 22nd instant, and anchored in the bay to the westward of Ceuta (in Moorish waters), about 3 P.M. On landing we met with two unarmed Moors, who knew directly who Mr. Hay was, and who were evidently gratified at seeing him. The place where we landed was nearly a mile from the Spanish lines, on a shingly beach about thirty yards in breadth, rising gradually towards the interior, which was undulating, rocky, and covered with small brushwood. After ascending to the distance of about half-a-mile we found ourselves on an eminence overlooking Ceuta, with the old Moorish outworks in front of us, from which we were divided by a ravine, which Mr. Hay informed me was the boundary fixed by his predecessor and himself in 1845, in proof of which he pointed to several slabs which were placed at that time for the purpose of marking the line of demarkation.

Inland (in our rear) we obtained a good view of the Moorish Saint House (Mequinez), and the white Moorish castle of Dar-el-baida, the former being about a mile and half distant from the Mauro-Spanish lines, and the latter a mile and three quarters distant, towards which we wended our way. From the rising ground previously mentioned, the land slightly lowered as far as the Saint House, between which and ourselves were two other ravines, both of which intersected the pathway, which is, in fact, the only road between Tangier and Ceuta. It immediately struck Mr. Hay and myself that one of these ravines formed a good natural boundary between Spanish and Moorish possessions, and that the possession by Spain of the high ground previously spoken of, contiguous to and facing Ceuta, would prevent the chances of that place ever being annoyed by the Moors, who otherwise would have it in their power to plant artillery there. Both these ravines were to the eastward of the Saint House and Moorish castle, and the ground about being sterile, its value could not be great. From the Saint House inland, however, the ground assumed a totally different appear-

ance, being much broken, covered with thick brushwood and numerous small trees, and gradually rising ridge upon ridge, until reaching the Sierras, the northernmost of which, Bullones, is about 1,500 feet in height, and the southern (Jimenes) 1,000 feet; the Sierras, forming almost a semicircle, embracing Ceuta, which from their summits I should judge to be at least six miles distant. At the Saint House we met with a Moor (said to be the commandant of the castle), who received us in the most friendly manner, and conversed for some time with Mr. Hay in Arabic, the subject of which Mr. Hay informs me has acquainted you with. Lieutenant Dodgin made a rough survey of the ground, which is herein inclosed, with the names of the different places marked. It is not for me to offer an opinion on the demands put forth by Spain, but if it is supposed by that Government that the possession of the Sierras outside and contiguous to Moorish Castle would prevent a recurrence of the quarrels that have taken place between their troops and the Moors, I should say that it would have a contrary effect. The ground is totally unsuitable for cavalry and artillery, but thoroughly adapted for the Moorish mode of warfare. The Moors would be able to annoy the Spaniards at their pleasure, and almost with impunity; chances which they would not be slow in taking advantage of. This did not need a soldier's eye to discover, and I have merely alluded to it in consequence of Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires having asked my opinion, and which opinion he has since begged me to state to you in writing.

Time and weather not admitting our proceeding beyond the castle of Dar-el-baida, we embarked soon after 5 o'clock, and returned here at 8 o'clock P.M.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. CAMPBELL.

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No. 65.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell*—(*Received November* 3.)

(No. 50.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

THE Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, and the members of his Mission, embarked yesterday evening, and the flag-staff of his residence was struck this morning. The French Chargé d'Affaires is left in charge of the Spanish interests.

I received, at an early hour this morning, a letter from M. Blanco, of which the inclosed is a copy and translation. As he merely announced his departure from this country, I addressed to him a letter, of which the annexed document is a copy, to which he sent the accompanying reply.

I dispatched Her Majesty's ship "Coquette," Commander, the Honourable Fitzgerald Foley, to the Western ports, and Her Majesty's ship "Quail" to Tetuan.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of my circular letter to the Vicé-Consuls, which is in conformity also with the instructions given by the Admiral to Commander Foley.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

*Don Juan Blanco to Mr. D. Hay.*

Muy Señor mio, *Tánger*, 25 *de Octubre*, 1859.

CIRCUNSTANCIAS de todas conocidas me obligan, con el personal de esta Mision, á abandonar este pais, del cual me alejo con pesar, porque dejo en el personas á quienes profeso una particular estimacion, y me han honrado, á semejanza de VS., con una amistad y una acogida tan benevola que jamas podré olvidar.

No sé si la suerte nos reunira algun dia, lo cual me seria en estremo alhagueño; pero, se asi no fuese, puede VS., en cualquiera parte donde me encuentre, disponer de mi inutilidad y contar en todo tiempo con mi sincero afecto.



A consecuencia de mi retirada, queda encargado de velar por las personas y los intereses de los subditos de la Reina mi augusta Soberana, nuestro distinguido colega de Francia.

Sirvase, &c.
(Firmado) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

CIRCUMSTANCES which are known to all oblige me, with the *personnel* of this Mission, to quit this country, from which I absent myself with pain, because I leave in it persons to whom I profess a particular esteem, and by whom I have been honoured, as in the presence of yourself, with a friendship and a treatment so kind that I shall never forget it.

I do not know if fate will bring us, some day, together again—a circumstance that would be to me extremely agreeable; but if such shall not be the case, you can, anywhere where you may meet me, dispose of my uselessness, and depend all the while upon my sincere affection.

In consequence of my withdrawal (from the country), our distinguished colleague of France remains entrusted with the watching over the persons and interests of the subjects of the Queen my august Sovereign.

Be pleased, &c.
(Signed) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

*Mr. D. Hay to Don Juan Blanco.*

Sir, *Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, and learn with extreme regret that you have taken your departure from this country. I thank you for the friendly expression you have been pleased to make use of, regarding the official and private relations which I have had the honour to entertain with you.

As it is of the greatest importance for the interests of Her Britannic Majesty's subjects in this country that I should know precisely whether there is only a suspension of relations between the Government of Her Catholic Majesty and that of Morocco, or whether you have made a formal declaration of war which may be followed by immediate hostilities, I shall feel extremely obliged if you will have the goodness to afford me that information, in order that I may take the measures which may be expedient, according to the nature of the reply you may give me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

*Don Juan Blanco to Mr. D. Hay.*

Muy Señor mio, *Tánger*, 25 *de Octubre*, 1859.

MI retirada de ese punto significa, desde luego, el rompimiento de las relaciones de amistad entre España y Marruecos, y, naturalmente, en un termino breve, que mi Gobierno, en este caso, cuidara oportunamente de hacer conocer el de las hostilidades.

Es cuanto puedo, en este momento, tener el honor de comunicarle en respuesta á su atenta carta de este dia.

Dios guarde, &c.
(Firmado) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

(Translation.)

*Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

Sir,

MY withdrawal from that place (Tangier) signifies, from this time forth, the breaking off of relations of friendship between Spain and Morocco; and that my Government will naturally, under these circumstances, take care, in a short time, to give timely notice of the commencement of hostilities.

This is all I can at this moment have the honour to communicate to you, in reply to your estimable note of this day.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 65.

*Circular addressed by Mr. D. Hay to Her Majesty's Vice-Consuls in Morocco.*

*Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

Sir,

RELATIONS between Spain and Morocco have been broken off this day. Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Coquette," Commander the Honourable Fitzgerald A. Foley, has therefore been directed by the Vice-Admiral Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, to make known to you this event. The "Coquette" will be followed by one or two of Her Majesty's frigates to succour and embark those British and other subjects of foreign Powers resident at your port who may desire to leave the country. You will communicate this information to British subjects and other Europeans resident at your port, and it will remain for you and them, after receiving this information, and with the local knowledge possessed by you of the character and feelings of the inhabitants of your port, and the disposition of the authorities to decide, whether you consider it advisable to withdraw or not from your post.

Should any Spanish vessel of war appear before your port with the intention of commencing hostilities before the Christian population may have had reasonable time to embark after this notice, you will, in concert with the captain or commander of Her Majesty's ship, protest, and request the necessary time to be allowed before the commencement of hostilities.

I am not at present informed whether the war will be forthwith commenced, or whether, in that case, the town of your residence is likely to be attacked.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—Letters are sent by the present conveyance from the Moorish Minister to the authorities at your port, directing them to facilitate the embarkation of Europeans, their property, and their merchandize.

J. H. D. H.

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No. 66.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 3.)

(No. 51. Confidential.)

*Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the translation of a letter I addressed to the Moorish Minister on the 23rd instant. I sent, at the same time, a verbal message by the bearer of the letter, to the effect that I hoped Seid Mohamed Khateeb would do all in his power to settle, in an amicable manner, the boundary question, and that, under any circumstances, I trusted the Moorish Government would keep good faith, and fulfil, when required, all that had been engaged.

Yesterday evening I received a letter from the Minister, of which the inclosed is a translation. I acceded to his Excellency's invitation, and he exhibited to me the letter he had just received from M. Blanco (who had embarked), as also the draft of his (Khateeb's) reply.* I repeated that I had no

* See Inclosures 4 and 5 in No. 67.



opinion to offer, further than to say I was glad to observe the tone of the letter was friendly and conciliatory. Before I took leave, I urged the Minister, in case of a rupture of relations, to send a courier to Angera, and to all the ports of Morocco, warning the authorities and inhabitants not to be the first to commence hostilities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 66.

*Mr. D. Hay to Seid Mahomed Khateeb.*

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) *October* 23, 1859.

WE have received your letter of the 23rd Rabea. We have to acquaint you that we have been directed by Her Majesty's Government to decline to give you any further advice regarding the existing differences between Spain and Morocco, unless we receive instructions to that effect.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 66.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) 26 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 24, 1859.)

WE have received your letter of yesterday's date, in which you inform us that you are instructed by your Government not to offer any further counsels in the pending differences between us and the Spanish Governmeut, unless you receive orders to that effect from your Government. We beg you, however, to call upon us this evening, in order that we may communicate to you, for the information of your Government, the letter which the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires has just addressed us.

(Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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No. 67.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 3.)

(No. 52.)

*Tangier, October* 25, 1859.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to send herewith, as requested by the Moorish Minister, a circular letter he has addressed to me, transmitting the correspondence that has taken place between his Excellency and the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, and which he requests me to forward to Her Majesty's Government. A similar letter, with its inclosures, has been addressed to the Agents of all the other foreign Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) 27 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 25, 1859.)

NOW that a rupture of relations has taken place between us and the Spaniards, we think it our duty to communicate to you a true account of all that has passed between us and the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, and we herewith send you five copies of letters addressed to us by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, and our five replies, being the correspondence that has taken place since the

people of Augera destroyed the marks of the boundary without our orders and contrary to our wishes. From this correspondence you will be able to form an exact opinion, and to judge whether our Lord the Sultan was acting in this negotiation in a friendly and regular manner, or whether the Spanish Government has shown a desire from the first in seeking for discussion and war.

You know that when the tribe of Augera had perpetrated what we had mentioned, our Lord the Sultan Mulay Abderrahman died, and we had not the power to take any step for the settlement of this affair, until God pleased to raise to the sovereignty our Lord the Sultan Seed Mahomed, and that His Majesty confirmed us in our present employment; but on the day we received our nomination we referred the whole question to the Sultan. The Spanish Government on account of this change that took place at the exalted Court, granted a term until the 5th October, and after that they prolonged it until the 15th instant, but we had, even before our nomination by our present Lord, done all in our power to prevent the people of Augera from committing disorders.

In the first letter of the Spanish Chargé d' Affaires, you will observe he puts forward a demand to raise buildings in the "campo" of Ceuta. In the ancient Treaty stipulations between us and them, and also in the stipulations of 1845, there is mention made of the "campo" and of the pasturage ground belonging to the Spaniards, but he (M. Blanco), in his letter only mentions the "campo" and no more. Our Lord the Sultan, from his wisdom and desire to continue in friendly relations, ordered me to accept the four demands and agreed that they should raise fortifications within the lines of the "campo:" this order was received by us before the 5th October, being the first term granted; then after that, as you will see in the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires' letter, he put forward a new demand to raise fortifications on the territory we ceded to them in 1845, for the pasturage of cattle. This demand was contrary to what the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires had promised to us, of which I have proofs; but in order to satisfy him we conceded it on the 11th October. On the 13th October, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires wrote to us that he demanded the high places requisite for the defence of the town of Ceuta; but if you refer to his letter of the 5th October, he repeated therein on two occasions that he only asked to build fortifications within the boundary lines: nevertheless we overlooked this turning and twisting of words as he pleased, neither did we call in question whether he had the right on his side or not, and we conceded what he asked, with the understanding that it was intended for the defence and enlargement of the territory of the town, and because he had declared to us in conversation that the high places asked for were contiguous to Ceuta and not at any distance. He then accepted our reply and went off to Algeciras, and returned here on the night of the 16th instant. He then put forward a demand for the possession of a large district, as you will observe in his letter, extending from the Valley of Gebel Moosa (as was explained to us by his Vice-Consul), and including the neighbouring country between it and the town of Ceuta We then replied we had no authority to grant that without a reference to our Lord the Sultan; so he has broken off relations, and war is spoken of.

On this account I beg of you to send this letter and its inclosures to your Government, and to state that we protest, in the name of our Lord the Sultan, against the Spanish Government on account of their separating themselves from their engagements on three different occasions, and of declaring war without a cause.

We have been much surprised to hear that the newspapers which mention these affairs, state that the people of Augera are always committing outrages on the inhabitants of Ceuta; but you know very well that for fifteen years no aggression had been committed by the people of Augera on Ceuta, until the Governor of Ceuta built on a site where no building had been raised before: so I beg of you to give an exact relation to your Government of what has taken place in this matter. You are also acquainted with and have perfect knowledge of the conduct of the inhabitants of this town and other towns, and that they desire to be on good terms with all nations. During the period after the death of the late Sultan when there was a state of insubordination and excitement, no injury was done to any European or any one else.

At Mazagan the Mussulmans fought against the country people to defend the property of the Europeans. All this I wish you to tell your Government, and to request them not to give credence to the language of those who have no knowledge of this country, or have no kindly feeling towards this Government



and its people. Our desire is to maintain friendly relations with all nations, but we repeat that we protest against the injustice of the conduct of the Spanish nation in this affair, and that they do not hold either to what they promised.

We appeal to God Almighty the Most High, the great and powerful Governments of Europe and America, we appeal to those men who follow the path of justice in this world, and who judge the rights of men without a reference to their force. We place our confidence in God, praying that the Almighty will regard us with favour.

We await events, neither shall any act be committed by us to which blame can be attached, but that all the evil shall proceed from them.

Peace. (Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

LIST OF NOTES passed between Seid Mohamed Khateeb and Don Juan Blanco, of which Translations have been already sent to the Foreign Office.

*Don Juan Blanco to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

September 5, 1859. Inclosure 5 in No. 34, October 7, 1859. (See Part I, Inclosure 3 in No. 240.)
October 3, 1859. Inclosure 1 in No. 22, October 5, 1859. (Ibid., Inclosure 1 in No. 237.)
October 5, 1859. Inclosure 2 in No. 34, October 7, 1859. (Ibid., Inclosure 1 in No. 240.)
October 13, 1859. Inclosure 3 in No. 37, October 13, 1859. (See *ante*, Inclosure 3 in No. 13.)

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

October 5, 1859. Inclosure 2 in No. 23, October 5, 1859. (See Part I, Inclosure 2 in No. 238.)
October 11, 1859. Inclosure in No. 36, October 11, 1859. (See *ante*, Inclosure in No. 12.)
October 13, 1859. Inclosure 4 in No. 37, October 13, 1859. (See *ante*, Inclosure 4 in No. 13.)
October 17, 1859. Inclosure in No. 42, October 17, 1859. (See *ante*, Inclosure in No. 45.)

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Inclosure 3 in No. 67.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

(Translation.)
(After compliments.) 8 *Rabea*, 1276. (*October* 6, 1859.)

WE have received your letter of yesterday's date, in which you explain to us the meaning of the third and fourth demands contained in your letter of the 5th September. We wrote to you yesterday that our Lord had ordered us to concede the four demands which were mentioned in your aforesaid letter, and which we had forwarded to the Sultan, and which were accepted by him, as it is his desire to continue the good relations between the two Governments. With reference to your explanation regarding the lines of Ceuta, we were under the impression that the Spanish word "campo" was the territory contained in the old lines of Ceuta, and that the pasturage ground was not included therein; for in Article XV of the old Treaty, the words "campo of Ceuta" are mentioned as well as the pasturage ground, but in your letter only the word "campo" is used, when you speak of the fortifications to be built; but, since you say to us that in using that word, your Government wished to be understood all the territory as far as the boundary marks placed in the year 1261 (1845), we shall refer the matter to the Sultan, and make known to him the misunderstanding

which has arisen from what you wrote and from what we had understood. We pray God that all this may be cleared up satisfactorily to both parties; but now that all matters are concluded between us by the acceptance of your demands, we beg you to extend us a term beyond the 15th October, that we may have time to explain and to assure our Lord the Sultan the wishes of both parties, and that an answer may be sent to us, which may be acted upon. With regard to what you say of the fourth demand, when all arrangements have been come to regarding the territory, a stipulation shall be entered into between us and you, after a reference to the Sultan, so that then all may be made clear.

Peace. (Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 67.

*Don Juan Bianco to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

(After the usual preamble.) *Tanger, á 24 de Octubre*, 1859.

LOS terminos de vuestra nota, que he leido con especial atencion, me han causado señalada sorpresa. No sera menos la impresion que habra producido este documento en el animo del Gobierno de la Reyna mi augusta Soberana.

Asi debisteis comprenderlo, porque conosceis los esfuerzos que el Gobierno Español, llevado del esperitu de justicia y rectitud que siempre le anima, ha hecho en bien de la paz, comprometido hoy por vuestra resistencia á conceder lo que habiais ofrecido, lo que tenia la España derecho perfecto para pedir.

Yo traeré á vuestra memoria la istoria de lo acaecido, y con ella os convincere de que vos y vuestro Gobierno sereis los unicos responsables de las consecuencias de que hablais al final de vuestra nota.

La plaza Española de Ceuta fué inesperadamente y injustamente atacada por los Moros de Augera. Su escasa guarnicion rechazo con desnudo la acometida. El Gobierno Español, en cumplimiento de su deber, exijió satisfaccion del ultrage, castigo de los culpables, y garantias para el porvenir.

Esto os pidé en mi nota de 5 de Setiembre ultimo. Y cual fué vuestra respuesta? Una promesa vaga de hacer justicia y una peticion de que se amplease el plazo por mi señalado para obtenir la reparacion pedida.

A pesar de que aquellos ataques se repetieron y no cesaron hasta que aumentada la guarnicion, tuvo fuerza para imponer respeto á los agresores; aquella ampliacion os fué concedida por mi magnanima Soberana sin que vos ni vuestro Gobierno os hubieseis comprometido á atender mi demanda.

De este modo dió prueba mi Gobierno de que el esperitu que le animaba no era el de romper la paz, porque si tal no hubiese dejado de aprovechar la propicia ocasion que entonces se le presentaba, por las circumstancias especiales de este Gobierno.

Pedisteis, despues, nuevo plazo, y tambien se os otorgó hasta el 15 del presente Octubre, y en vuestra nota de 5 del mismo mes me manifestateis que vuestro Amo os habia autorizado para ceder á mis justas reclamaciones.

En esta comunicacion reynaba la misma vaguedad que en vuestra anterior respuesta, ni en una ni en otra deciais lo que habiais de dar en cumplimiento de vuestras ofertas.

Esta oscuridad motivo mi nota del mismo dia 5 de Octubre, y la posterior, á que contestateis (respeto á la cesion territorial pedida) en estos terminos: "Aceptamos que los espresados limites de Ceuta sean ensanchados hasta los parages elevados mas convenientes para seguridad y desahogo de dicha plaza."

Tan terminante ofrecimiento sobre el unico punto que habia sido objeto de discusion, hacia esperar fundadamente el feliz termino del conflicto suscitado, mucho mas atendiendo á las conversaciones, en que os habia esplicado las pretenciones justas de mi Gobierno.

Pero como todo habia de convertirse en hechos, os determiné cuales habian de ser estos, para evitar que una mala inteligencia pudiera hacer imposible la conservacion de la paz que todos deseamos. Entonces os dije las solemnidades con que habia de darse la satisfaccion que habiais ofrecido, la naturaleza del castigo, que reconosciais debia imponerse á los culpables, y las alturas que juzgabamos mas convenientes para la seguridad, que nos habiais prometido terminantamente dar por este medio á la plaza de Ceuta, añadiendo que el



deslinde se haria de comun acuerdo por engineros Españoles y Marroquies, los cuales determinarian el trazado de los nuevos limites.

A esta demanda, consecuencia natural de las anteriores, en la cual iba ademas envuelta una ampliacion del plazo otorgado, y una nueva muestra de esperitu conciliador, contestais negando lo que antes habiais concedido, torciendo el esperitu y la letra de mis notas, y desmintiendo lo que en comunicaciones oficiales me habiais dicho sobre haberos conferido vuestro Amo plenos poderes para el arreglo de las cuestiones pendientes entre España y Marruecos.

De que lado estan en este asunte la magnanimidad, la lealtad, y la buena fé?

Tres veces os he dado plazo para atender mis justas reclamaciones, y el ultimo, que declaré ser improrogable se amplio hasta recibir las esplicaciones necesarias, afin de que quedase bien determinada la naturaleza de las reparaciones; solo una vez me habeis hecho promesas terminantes, pero como arrepentido de ellas y conociendo la hidalguia Española habeis procurado iludirlas, oponiendo subterfugios indiscupables, cuando tan generosamente habiamos procedido, y cuando comprometido á dar la satisfaccion tratamos de figar la forma y el momento para ejecutarla, retrocedeis, invocais declaraciones verbales que no han existido y que no existerian en armonia con mis escritos ni con mis instrucciones, y os defendeis con una falta de autorizacion de vuestro Soberano, de quien habiais asegurado haberla obtenido.

Como veis, mi Soberana ha dado pruebas incontestables de sus sinceros deseos de paz; pero, persuadido de que no se corresponde á su lealtad y de que se procura evadir con sutilezas el cumplimiento de lo ofrecido, puesto con su derecho y con su justicia, y puesta su confianza en Dios, encomienda á la fuerza de las armas la resolucion definitiva de la cuestion pendiente.

Y la paz.

El Encargado de Negocios y Consul-General de Su Magestad Católica,

(Firmado) JUAN BLANCO DEL VALLE.

(Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) *Tangier. October* 24, 1859.

THE terms of your note, which I have read with especial attention, have caused me particular surprise. No less will be the impression which that document will have produced in the mind of the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign.

So you must understand it yourself, for you are aware of the efforts which the Spanish Government, carried away by that spirit of justice and rectitude with which it is ever animated, has made in the interest of peace, which is to-day compromised by your refusal to cede that which you had offered—that which Spain had a perfect right to demand.

I will bring to your memory the history of what has passed, and by it convince you that you and your Government will be the only parties responsible for the consequences of what you speak of at the end of your note.

The Spanish garrison of Ceuta was unexpectedly and unjustly attacked by the Moors of Augera. The scanty garrison openly repulsed the attack. The Spanish Government, in accordance with its duty, insisted upon a satisfaction being given to it for the outrage, punishment of the culpable, and guarantees for the future.

This I demanded of you in my note of the 5th of September last; and what was your reply? A vague promise that justice would be done, and a request that the term which had been fixed upon by me for obtaining the reparation demanded might be extended.

Although these attacks were repeated, and did not cease until the garrison was reinforced, and was strong enough to impose respect on the aggressors, the extension (of the term asked for) was ceded by my magnanimous Sovereign, without you or your Government engaging to pay attention to my demand.

In this manner my Government gave proof that the spirit with which it was animated was not that of breaking the peace; for had such been its spirit, it would not have declined taking advantage of the propitious occasion which then presented itself, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which this Government was placed.

You asked, afterwards, for a new term, and this was also granted to you,

up to the 15th of the present month (October); and, in your note of the 5th of the same month, you declared to me that your Master had authorized you to accede to my just demands. In that communication there prevailed the same vagueness as in your former reply. In neither one nor the other did you state what you had to give in fulfilment of your offers.

This obscurity gave cause for my note of the same day, the 5th of October, and the last one, to which you replied (with regard to the cession of the territory demanded) in these terms:—"We accept that the limits of Ceuta alluded to be extended as far as the heights most convenient for the security and tranquillity of the said garrison."

So conclusive an offer on the only point that had been brought under discussion, gave rise to firm hopes that a happy termination would be put to the conflict which had been engendered, and I expected it the more after the conversations in which I explained to you the just nature of the demands of my Government.

But as all had to be resolved into acts, I pointed out to you what those acts should be, in order to prevent that a misunderstanding should render impossible the maintenance of the peace which we all wish for. I then stated to you the forms in which the satisfaction you had offered should be given, the nature of the punishment which you acknowledge should be inflicted on the culpable parties, and the heights which we thought most convenient for the security of Ceuta, and which you had promised, in a conclusive manner, to give for this purpose; adding (as I did), that the demarkation of the boundary should, by common consent, be carried into effect by Spanish and Moorish engineers, who would trace out the new limits.

To this demand, the natural consequence of the former ones, coupled with which event also an extension of the term granted (for the satisfaction demanded), and an additional proof of the spirit of conciliation, you replied by refusing that which you had before ceded, distorting the spirit and letter of my notes, and contradicting what, in official communications, you had said to me, with regard to your Master having invested you with full powers to settle the questions pending between Spain and Morocco.

On what side in this affair are magnanimity, loyalty, and good faith exhibited?

Three times have I given you time and opportunity for attending to my just demands, and the last term, which I declared could not be prolonged, was extended until the explanations necessary be received, so that the nature of the reparation may be clearly determined. You have only once made to me definitive promises, but repenting, as you seemed to do, that you ever made them, and knowing well the noble* character of the Spanish nation, you have endeavoured to elude them, putting forward inexcusable subterfuges, although we had acted with so much generosity, and when, after you had engaged to give the satisfaction, we conferred about deciding upon the form and moment in which it was to be done, you receded from your promises, and invoked verbal declarations which have never been made, and which could not exist, conformably with either my writings or my instructions, and you defend yourself by pretending that you have no authority for your action from your Sovereign, although you had assured me you had obtained it.

You see, therefore, my Sovereign has given unquestionable proofs of her sincere wishes for peace; but persuaded (as she is) that your procedure does not correspond with her loyalty, and that an effort is being made to evade in a subtle manner the fulfilment of what was offered to be done, based upon her right and justice, as well as confiding in God, she commits to the arbitrament of arms the definitive settlement of the pending question.

Peace.

(Signed) J. BLANCO DEL VALLE,
*Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General of Her Catholic Majesty.*

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* "Hidalguia" in original.



Inclosure 5 in No. 67.

*Seid Mohamed Khateeb to Don Juan Blanco.*

(Spanish Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) 24 *Octubre*, 1859.

HEMOS recibido su carta fecha del 24 corriente, y nos ha causado pena de haber visto que V. está en la persuasion que hemos querido retirarnos de lo que hemos prometido en nuestras varias cartas á vuestras diferentes demandas. Pero, no es asi, siendo que estamos de buena fé, y deseando la paz y buena armonia con vuestro Gobierno, como V. nos asegura eran los sentimientos que animaban vuestro Gobierno durante esta negociacion.

Atribuendo mas bien las acusaciones que V. nos hace de haber faltado en cumplir nuestras promesas, á la diferencia del idioma que cada uno emplea en sus escritos y en nuestras conferencias, y que de eso se habran causados mal-intiendimentos de una y otra parte, no queremos en esta ocasion aumentar nuestras diferencias en discutir las culpas que V. nos hace. La correspondencia que ha pasado entre nosotros es la justificacion á la cual apelo. Pero, como esperemos que podremos todavia entendernos, dejamos caer toda discusion sobre lo pasado. Con todo es menester que hagamos una observacion respeto al que V. habla de los malos procederes de la gente de Augera. Admetemos que esta gente ignorante ha cometido un agravio serio en pasando los limites conocidos, y hostilizando la plaza; pero V. conoce que si continuaran en sus malos procederes contro nuestra volundad, y si no eran castigados, procedio que en aquel tiempo succedio la muerte de nuestro Amo Mulai Abderrahman, y el nuevo Sultan, Sidi Mohamed, todavia no era proclamado. Despues del establecimiento de Su Magestad nuestro Amo sobre el trono, hemos estado esperando que V. responderia á nuestra carta del 11 Octubre, en la cual pediamos cuando era su deseo que se llevase á execucion el castigo de los culpables, del modo que V. lo habia pedido en su ultimatum del 5 Setiembre. Pero, siendo que en su carta del 16 Octobre V. nos pide la ultima pena de los mal hechores, tengo á decir á V. que solo nuestro Amo el Sultan puede disponer de la vida y de la muerte de sus subditos. Poniendo nuestra confianza en vuestro escrito del 5 Setiembre estamos en la persuasion que lo que V. desea es un castigo severo y exemplar.

En cuanto á los limites quedamos siempre firmes sobre lo que habiamos concedido, que los engineros Marroquies y Españoles decidarán las alturas convenientes para la defensa y seguridad de la plaza, y en nuestra carta del 17 corriente, escrita en Arabe, hemos querido sin equivocacion confirmar esto, declarando, pero, que no podiamos acceptar un punto determinado antes la decision de los engineros, no conociendo la naturaleza del terreno, las distancias, y la nomenclatura de los lugares que V. mencionaba, o despues de una referencia al Sultan nuestro Amo. Estamos prontos, cuando V. quiera arreglarlo con nosotros, de mandar los engineros de una parte y otra con el objeto en vista, y de tratar estas y todas las cuestiones con paz y armonia, y con el deseo de hacer lo que es justo y satisfactorio por ambas partes.

Y por darle á V. una prueba mayor de nuestro deseo de mantener la paz con el Gobierno de España, hago á V. la siguiente proposicion; que en caso que los engineros respectivos no se pongan de acuerdo sobre la demarcacion de los limites, lo que seria contro nuestro deseo, que cada uno exije una Potencia imparcial como su arbitro, y acceptamos la decision que pronunciaran. Esta propuesta está hecha solamente con el objeto de asegurar V. que esperamos de arreglar las cuestiones pendientes sin recurso á las armas.

Como V. se retiro á bordo, por facilitarlo l'explicacion de nuestra respuesta hemos creido remitirle una traduccion de nuestra carta.

Paz. (Firmado) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

(Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) *October* 24, 1859.

WE have received your letter of this date, which (letter) has caused us regret, inasmuch as we have seen that you are under the conviction that we have wished to withdraw from what we have promised in our replies to your several demands. But such is not the case, for we are of good faith, and desirous of

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peace and good harmony with your Government, in the same way as you assure us these are the sentiments with which your Government has been animated during this negotiation.

Attributing rather the accusations which you put forward against us of having neglected to fulfil our promises, to the difference of the idioms which we respectively make use of in our writings and conferences, and to the fact that from this circumstance originated misunderstandings on one side and on the other, we are unwilling on this occasion to augment our differences by entering into a discussion regarding the faults with which you charge us. The correspondence that has passed between us is the justification to which we appeal. As, however, we hope we may come to a satisfactory understanding with each other, let us dispense with all discussion regarding the past.

At the same time we must make one observation with reference to what you say about the misconduct of the people of Augera. We admit that this ignorant people have committed a serious offence in crossing the well-known limits, and acting in a hostile manner against the garrison (of Ceuta); but you are aware that, if they continued to misconduct themselves against our will, and if they were not punished, it was because, at the time these evil proceedings took place, the death of our Master, Mulai Abderrahman, occurred, and the new Sultan, Sidi Mohamed, was not yet proclaimed.

After the establishment of His Majesty, our Lord, on the Throne, we have been waiting for your answer to our letter of the 11th October, in which we begged of you to tell us when it might be your desire that we should carry into effect the punishment of the culpable parties, according to the manner indicated in your ultimatum of the 5th of September. But as, in your letter of the 16th of October, you demand that the malefactors should be put to death, we have to state to you that only our Lord the Sultan can dispose of the life and death of his subjects. Placing our confidence in your communication of the 5th of September, we are persuaded that what you desire is a severe and exemplary chastisement.

As regards the limits, we remain firm in what we have conceded, that Moorish and Spanish engineers should determine the heights that may be convenient for the defence and security of the garrison. In our letter of the 17th instant, written in Arabic, we wished unmistakeably to confirm this, declaring at the same time that we could not accept a fixed point before the decision of the engineers is come to, as we do not know the nature of the ground, the distances, and the names of the localities which you mentioned, or until after a reference to the Sultan our Master. We are ready, whenever you may wish to settle the matter with us, to send the engineers with that object, and to treat this and all other questions with which they may be entrusted, in peace and harmony, and with the desire to do all that is just and satisfactory to each party.

In order to give you a further proof of our desire to maintain peace with the Government of Spain, we make to you the following proposition: that, in the event of the engineers not according in opinion with regard to the demarkation of the limits—a circumstance which we should regret—each one of us should select an impartial Power as an arbitrator, and that we should accept the decision they might come to in the matter. This proposition is made solely with a view to assure you that we hope to settle the pending questions without recourse to arms.

As you have retired on board ship, and in order to facilitate to you the interpretation of our reply, we have thought well to remit to you a translation of our letter.

Peace. (Signed) MOHAMED KHATEEB.

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No. 68.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Hammond*—(*Received November* 3.)

(Private.)

My dear Hammond, *Tangier, October* 26, 1859.

IT has been a great satisfaction to me to receive Lord John Russell's approval of my conduct up to the 7th instant, and also that he authorizes me to continue to express my opinions in regard to Moorish affairs with freedom



The copy of a telegram I send this day, in my despatch No. 53, is all I have further to say about coveted territory. From a perusal of my and Captain Campbell's reports and inspection of the chart, Lord John Russell will, I think, learn that the Spanish Government, in making a demand that Bullones be the basis for the demarkation of the new boundary, had certainly another object in view than the defence and security of Ceuta; for it is absurd to suppose the Moors could annoy Ceuta with muskets from the craggy mountains which rise, peak upon peak, two miles from Ceuta to the westward. The Spaniards may reduce the rayon, and call Bullones any portion of that territory, according to the pressure from England or European Governments; but the extent of range of Sierra Bullones, as called by the Moors and as mentioned in our charts, is at least five or six miles, as crow flies, from the walls of Ceuta, and a cross fire could be had from the opposite coast, if Spain raised forts on both sides. I am glad, under any circumstances, the British Government directed me to desist from urging any further on this Government the concession in question, for I am certain the Sultan would not have consented, and if he had, a revolt would have taken place; or if the Moors here and in the interior submitted sullenly to the mandates of their Sovereign, the Augerites would within a month shoot down every sentinel that showed himself in the new lines, the ground being well adapted for Moorish warfare: and thus, instead of bringing about a peaceful solution, we should have become a party to a negotiation which would have produced interminable differences between Spain and Morocco. As to Castellon's language and conduct, he has always said to me and to others that Spain had a perfect right to put forward the demands she has, and to give her own interpretation to ambiguous expressions. Upon my asking M. Castellon whether he thought M. Blanco was justified in telling me downright falsehoods, and asking me to communicate them to the Moorish Minister, in order to obtain concessions, and then to deny he had ever made me any communication, Castellon replied that Blanco had been playing the diplomatist, but he had assured him (M. Castellon) he had never asked me to take a single step with the Moorish Government to facilitate the negotiations. I gave M. Castellon a proof of M. Blanco's untruthfulness by showing him the copy of a document communicated to me by M. Blanco on the Spanish affairs, in order that I might use my good offices to persuade Khateeb to accept their demands; and I added, "If you, M. Castellon, admit that a diplomatist is justified in telling a falsehood to forward the interests of his Government, God forbid that you should call me a diplomatist, if you think persons bearing that character should admit of falsehood. The British Government would dismiss me at once if they thought I was capable of telling a falsehood to gain even the greatest advantage to British interests." Castellon then said he did not altogether approve Blanco's mode of conducting the negotiation, and that even in the position he occupied as the person to be left in charge of Spanish interests, Blanco had not been frank and open with him. This Castellon said was "the more strange as Blanco knew the strong sympathy shown by the French Government in this question towards Spain, and the fact of the French squadron having been sent to the Algeciras waters to give a moral support to Spain." Castellon went on to say that the French Government did not care whether Spain took possession of all the Moorish coast, that they would never interfere. I interrupted him by saying, "the British Government would;" and added, We have received guarantees from the Spanish Government, which the British Government will require should be strictly fulfilled. Castellon laughed, and said, "Vous croyez." Castellon is all "joyeux" now that the hostilities are imminent. Even Blanco has told several of my colleagues in confidence that he thought Castellon would rather push them on into hostilities than stop the war current, and on that account he had kept clear of him.

Last night Khateeb sent for me. He said the Algerine Budarba had come to him to recommend that the Sultan should place the whole affair in the hands of the French Government; that if he, Khateeb, would only send for Castellon and declare that he accepted the mediation and decision of France, the question would be settled, and war prevented.

Khateeb asked Budarba who authorized him to hold this language. He replied that the French Interpreter, M. Tomarifa, had told him all this.

I replied to Khateeb that the Moorish Government had, in such a matter, after due reflection, and after considering the past conduct of M. Castellon, and

the fact of this proposition being made through an intriguist, alone to decide whether it was worthy even of consideration.

Khateeb replied that he had not the slightest intention of asking for French mediation: that British good offices had been asked for long ago; and that the Moors would be cutting their own throats if they trusted the arrangement of the present question to French hands.

Now it is very possible Budarba may not be justified in holding this language; but from all I can collect, and from all I have heard from my colleagues, the aim of the French is either by urging Spain on to make war upon Morocco, to show the latter Power England cannot prevent or help the Moors, or by an active and energetic mediation, if accepted, prove to the Moors that for the future they should look to France as their protector, and not to England, and, therefore, by this move, cut away from under our feet another old ally in the Mediterranean, weak if you please, but very staunch up till now.

With regard to your query, "How far I suppose the French are abetting Spanish demands?" I think the language I have reported of Castellon will give you some idea, especially as Castellon actually counselled Khateeb to yield Bullones. I suppose you have seen in the papers General Martimprey's speech to the soldiers who are to attack the Marroquin tribes who committed an outrage in the Algerine territory. Does it not appear strange, even if it be called a fortuitous combination, that France and Spain should attack Morocco about the same time on different sides. I inclose an extract from the "Gibraltar Chronicle." If true, it speaks volumes.

Blanco has, on several occasions, let drop expressions to me and to others, that France is more anxious for the war than Spain, and will help the latter Power in the end when complications ensue. Blanco, however, is a liar. There is no mean term for such a man.

When I declined to interfere any further by giving counsels, as directed by Lord John Russell, Khateeb asked me before he wrote his last letter to Blanco, which of the foreign Representatives would give him the best and disinterested advice. I said I thought the Neapolitan. He was the successful mediator between France and Morocco. He is brother of Martino, the present Neapolitan Envoy at Rome—a friend of mine, knows Arabic, and was on friendly terms with Blanco. He was the author of the last letter from Khateeb to Blanco, and he tells me, before he advised Khateeb to write it he had an interview with Blanco, who had assured him a letter conceived in those terms (*i.e.*, when the Minister promised to adhere to his engagements) would prevent a rupture of relations. The indirect communications made to me through a third party from members of the Spanish Mission, asking for me to counsel Moorish Minister as Martino has done, convince me that Martino has been misled by Spanish deception and falsehood as I have been.

Martino is furious, and uses stronger language about Blanco and his Government even than I do.

When Blanco was holding out this bait to Martino, he knew, I suppose, by telegram, war had been declared on the 22nd. The Spanish Government took care that Buchanan's telegram of the 22nd did not reach me till the midnight of 24th instant.

I hesitate about ordering British subjects to embark, and I send you the copy of a hurried note I have just addressed Admiral. I hope I am not indiscreet in letting him know what was written to Buchanan on the 18th. I mark note "private and secret," and it may better enable him to decide what is to be done. He has the power of making Don reasonable if he does not give time, whereas I cannot do more than protest if Blanco proves himself again to be a l—r in promising to give me due notice.

Yesterday evening Macias was embarked in charge of two Spanish cavasses and the French Elève Consul, and two French cavasses. I heard of it after receipt of despatch about Macias, and after man had been embarked. Under any circumstance I should have abstained from physical force. I let Castellon know, however, when I met him in the street, that I regretted he had sent the French Elève-Consul and French cavasses on such an errand, especially as M. Blanco had promised Mr. Reade, through another Consul, not to embark the man before he gave notice to the British Consulate. I further told Castellon the British Government had required Macias should be liberated by Spanish Government, and compensated; so I said, "The matter now rests between the



two Governments, and is not to be discussed here." Castellon had hitherto always declared he approved of Reade's conduct, and would have done likewise had a similar case occurred to a French marine.

I shall write when I have time in answer to despatches Nos. 23 and 24, about Macias' affair.

Excuse this very hurried letter. What with packing, Mrs. Drummond Hay dangerously ill, embarkation of people, running off letters to Admiral, Vice-Consuls on coast, and keeping order in Tangier, my head is in a whirl. It is hopeless to get off my heavy furniture; I have no cases nor means of packing, and I fear, unless compensated, I shall lose some 1,200*l*. However, that is a secondary consideration. If British interests do not suffer I am content to lose all.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

*Extract from the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of October* 22, 1859.

THE same paper has accounts from the Chaffarine Islands to the 12th instant. The French war-steamer "Caton" had arrived with despatches for that fortress and Melilla. Besides, it appears the objects of this visit is to establish field-hospitals in these islands for the use of the French army, which is to make a landing with 20,000 men, in front of this place on the 20th instant.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

*Mr. D. Hay to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.*

My dear Sir, *Tangier, October* 26, 1859.

"COQUETTE" started yesterday;* I hesitate about sending "Doris," and "Scylla," and "Quail"—

1. Because hostilities are not yet declared, and Blanco tells me in answer to my query, that "timely notice of commencement of hostilities will be given;"

2. I have been sent by Her Majesty's Government a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Buchanan on the 18th, which could not reach before the 22nd, and perhaps did not reach Mr. Buchanan before war was declared, in which Her Majesty's Government animadvert in a strong manner on the conduct of the Spanish Government; and one passage is, "Great Britain cannot consent to the proposed territorial aggrandizement." Another is, "Tell Spanish Minister no hostilities ought to commence till the Spanish demand has been fully examined. We expect an immediate answer;"

3. I have a copy of a despatch to the Admiralty dated 15th of October, in which Lord John Russell says, "Vice-Admiral Fanshawe should be directed to place himself in communication with the Spanish military and naval commanders, and request them to give him such timely notice of the intention to attack any particular place on the Moorish coast as may admit of measures being taken to embark British subjects and their property, &c." I don't know what steps you may have taken in consequence of this instruction, but I beg you to write to me directly whether you think it advisable to order British subjects to leave without waiting for declaration of hostilities.

I cannot put the slightest confidence in any promise, written or verbal, made to me by Blanco after his past conduct, and it is not impossible his engagement to give me timely notice would be disregarded if it suited Spanish purposes.

It is given out here that to-morrow, if weather be fine, or first calm day, Spanish vessels come here or go to Tetuan to land troops and bombard. French Chargé d'Affaires has ordered French and Sardinian subjects to embark to-day; it is supposed he will ere long quit also. It is also reported the French Admiral was on board the "Impératrice," *incog.*, for two days. Perhaps he

* To ports on Moorish coast.

returned to-day or last night to Algiers in the "Tysiphone." Castellon was boating backwards and forwards all yesterday and day before. It is, I believe, the wish of Castellon, whatever may be the idea of his Government, to push affairs to extremities.

I therefore do not guide myself by his proceedings. It is a heavy responsibility for me to order British subjects to leave when there is only rupture of relations; and therefore I would beg to hear what you recommend and would desire before I take such a step, after the secret information I have given you of the language of our Government. I therefore await your reply before dispatching more steamers to the coast. The French have not yet sent any vessels, that I know of, to the coast. Of course, the embarkation of Christians on the coast, if it be not truly necessary, may cause great loss of property, and, perhaps, revolutionary movements throughout the interior.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 69.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 4.)

(No. 492.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 26, 1859.

AT an interview which I had this day with Señor Calderon Collantes, I expressed frankly to his Excellency the impression which the demand on Morocco, to cede to Spain the territory lying between Ceuta and the Sierra of Bullones, had made upon Her Majesty's Government, and their opinion, independently of the important European interests involved in the question, that such a demand on Morocco had been entirely inconsistent with the assurances which they had received from Her Catholic Majesty's Government through Señor de Isturiz and myself, that Spain has no intention to seek conquests and aggrandizement in Africa.

Señor Calderon Collantes, in reply, repeated the explanations and assurances which I had already received from him; dwelling upon the ignorance of the Spanish Government as to the geographical peculiarities of the country near Ceuta, and on the expediency, therefore, with a view to obtaining the future security desirable for the fortress, of the arrangement which they had proposed to the Moorish Government, for carrying into effect the principle which had been already admitted, that the positions in the neighbourhood which could be shown to be most convenient for that purpose, should be ceded to Spain. Señor Calderon Collantes said that the Sierra of Bullones began almost from the immediate vicinity of the present lines, and that such a position as was required might have been found by the Hispano-Moorish Commissioners at about two or three miles from the fortress, a distance to which Her Majesty's Government could have had no objection to offer.

He confirmed, at the same time, to me in the strongest terms, the declaration contained in his note of the 21st instant, that the Spanish Government, in the arrangement which may eventually be made for increasing the rayon of Ceuta, would not claim that any portion of the coast of the Straits of Gibraltar should be ceded to Spain, which could, from its geographical position, give her the means of restricting the freedom of the passage.

I said that if a misunderstanding between the two Governments, as there was reason to fear might have happened, had arisen with reference to this subject, it would have been occasioned by their not taking the same point of departure. Her Catholic Majesty's Government appeared to consider the question as one between themselves and Morocco alone, in which other Powers had no right to interfere, and still less to require engagements from Spain as to her eventual intentions; while Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that no change can take place in the territorial possessions, on the coast of the Straits of Gibraltar, of the Powers now occupying positions there, without the approval and consent of Europe, and that the interests of Europe and Great Britain in the freedom of the passage between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, wihch had now become the highway to Her Majesty's possessions in India, required that Spain, on engaging in a war with Morocco, should, before



occupying positions which would enable her to command the passage, declare most solemnly that she would only hold them as long as the exigencies of the war obliged her to do so, and that she would on no pretence whatever endeavour to change the *status quo* in the Straits, which, considering the relative positions held at present by Great Britain, Spain, and Morocco, is free from any reasonable objection.

I said that though Her Majesty's Government had accepted as satisfactory the Spanish declaration respecting Tangier, he must himself feel that it had not been given in the frank and friendly manner which Her Majesty's Government had thought themselves entitled to expect from the circumstances; and he must excuse me for saying that the manner in which Señor Blanco del Valle had conducted his negotiation at Tangier, and the development which had been given to undefined expressions in official documents, which, in his confidential communications with the Moorish Minister, and indeed also with Her Majesty's Representative at Tangier, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires had interpreted in a more restricted and entirely different sense, had naturally led Her Majesty's Government to fear that the guarded manner in which explanations had been given on points on which they had asked for a declaration of the intentions of the Spanish Government, could not be attributed alone to a reserve which originated in a desire to maintain the dignity of the Spanish nation.

I said that, when I first presented to him your Lordship's despatch No. 69 of the 22nd ultimo, he accepted it as the friendly request for explanation which it was intended to be; but that, from some cause which I did not yet understand, it had been with the utmost difficulty that I obtained the indirect declaration which I had eventually received from him.

Señor Calderon Collantes said, that the Spanish Government had felt unwilling to give explanations which might appear to have been exacted by the presence of a large British fleet, and which ought never to have been required after the spontaneous declarations and the general assurances which they had addressed to Europe.

I replied, that Her Majesty's Government however had been called upon, by the prospect of a war between Spain and Morocco, to make known, as a fixed principle, which would be applicable not only to the present occasion, but to any future eventualities, that Great Britain could not consent to any one European Power obtaining the command of the Straits of Gibraltar, by holding positions on the opposite coasts.

I said, that I had just learned with pleasure from your Lordship, that you had accepted as satisfactory assurances which you had received from Señor de Isturiz, as to the intentions of the Spanish Government on this subject; and that, in my present conversation with his Excellency, my object had merely been to obtain from himself explanations which might remove every vestige of the doubts and misapprehensions which had been created in the mind of Her Majesty's Government, by the manner in which the Spanish demand respecting the Bullones had been understood by the Moorish Government and Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 70.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 4.)

(No. 493.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 26, 1859.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 24th instant, I have the honour to inform you that I, this day, read to Señor Calderon Collantes your Lordship's despatch No. 110 of the 14th instant, and placed a copy of it in his Excellency's hands.

I also delivered at the same time to his Excellency a copy of your Lordship's despatch No. 69 of the 22nd ultimo, which is referred to in your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch.

Señor Calderon Collantes made no observation on the communication which I had been instructed to make to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 71.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 4.)*

(No. 494. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October 26, 1859.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 492 of this date, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I read to M. Calderon Collantes that part of it which refers to his assurances respecting the Bullones, and that his Excellency said it represented correctly the explanations which he has given me on the subject.

I asked his Excellency, at the same time, to authorize me to state, in addition to his general assurances not to occupy any position on the coast dangerous to the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar, that Spain would not, in any eventual arrangement for increasing the rayon of Ceuta, pretend to include Point Barmeja within the Spanish frontier; but as his Excellency, in giving me that assurance, spoke of Point Barmeja as the promontory which I had marked on the map which I had shown to him on the 21st instant, as being only nine and a-half miles distant from the opposite coast, and as I find, on a reference to the said map, that the nine and a-half miles is measured from Point Blanco, the extreme point of the same promontory, I have not ventured to report his assurance on the subject to your Lordship without this explanation.

It appears to me, however, that, as your Lordship expressed, in your telegram of the 23rd instant, that Her Majesty's Government wish to preserve entire freedom of action on this question, that the general assurance in M. Calderon Collantes' note of the 21st instant will meet their views in this respect; for it establishes a principle which it will be free to Her Majesty's Government to insist upon being applied as they may deem most expedient, when the new frontier comes to be traced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 72.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 4.)*

(No. 501. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October 28, 1859.*

IN pursuance of the intention which I expressed to your Lordship in my telegram of the 22nd instant, I consented, after the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 24th instant, to take back the second note which I addressed to Señor Calderon Collantes on the 21st instant, in conformity with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram of that day.

The note has been consequently returned to me by his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 73.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 4.)*

(No. 503.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October 29, 1859.*

THE Government continue their preparations for the invasion of Morocco. Various merchant steam-vessels have been chartered, and troops are being



forwarded from all the northern ports of Spain towards Cadiz, Algeciras, and Malaga, where the head-quarters of the three expeditionary corps in which the army is divided are stationed.

A Mr. Bulter, an English resident in Tetuan, whose sister is married to a Spaniard, has been induced to visit Madrid, and has, I am told, been furnishing the Government with information on the topography of the country between Tangier and Tetuan. It is also said that he is to accompany the army to Africa.

Marshal O'Donnell now speaks of leaving Madrid on the 3rd of November; but there seems no probability of his preparations being completed for moving the army before the middle of that month.

In the meanwhile, since the declaration of war, the leaders of the Ultro-Moderado Party, who were originally the loudest in urging on the Government the inexpediency of temporizing or negotiating with the Government of Morocco, now begin to show a disposition to inquire whether the circumstances will justify the decision which has been adopted.

I am told also, that almost all persons not immediately dependent upon the Government begin to express doubts as to the wisdom of the course upon which the country is about to enter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 74.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Wodehouse.—(Received November 5.)*

My Lord, *Admiralty, November 4, 1859.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Fanshawe, dated the 28th ultimo, with copies of the Vice-Admiral's correspondence with the Spanish naval and military officers relative to notice being given to him of any intended operations against Morocco, in time for measures to be taken for the embarkation of British subjects.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 74.

*Vice-Admiral Fanshawe to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *"Marlborough," at Malta, October 28, 1859.*

I HAVE the honour to request you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, in obedience to their Lordships' orders of the 15th instant, transmitting, for my information and guidance, a letter from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stating that Her Majesty's Government have reason to apprehend a Spanish expedition may shortly proceed to the coast of Morocco, with instructions to effect a landing, and commence hostilities against the Moors, and signifying Her Majesty's commands that I should be directed to place myself in communication with the Spanish naval and military Commanders, and to request them to give such timely notice of the intention to attack any particular place on the Moorish coast as may admit of measures being taken to embark British subjects and their property, having heard from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Morocco that he had learnt from the Chargé d'Affaires of Her Most Catholic Majesty that relations with Morocco had been broken off, and hostilities were likely to ensue, I addressed a letter to the naval and military Commanders of the Spanish forces at Algeciras, a copy of which I inclose, together with their replies, with translations, which I request you will be pleased to lay before their Lordships.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 74.

*Vice-Admiral Fanshawe to Brigadier Quesada.*

Sir, "*Marlborough*," *at Gibraltar, October* 27, 1859.

HER Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier having informed me that M. Blanco del Valle, Chargé d'Affaires of Her Most Catholic Majesty at that place, had informed him that relations between the Spanish and Moorish Governments had been broken off, and that hostilities were likely to ensue, acting under the instructions which I have received from my Government in such case, I address myself to your Excellency as the naval Commander-in-chief of Her Most Catholic Majesty's forces at Algeciras, to request that your Excellency will give me such timely notice of your intention to attack any particular place or places on the Morocco coast as may enable me to take the necessary measures to embark at such places in safety, on board Her Majesty's ships or other vessels, the subjects of Her Majesty who have been located there, with their property.

Offering your Excellency my assurance that no prejudice to the Spanish belligerent operations should result from such an act of courtesy, or notice be given to the Moors beyond what must be apparent by the departure of Christian residents from their country, permit me to assure, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

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Inclosure 3 in No 74.

*General Herrera to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.*

(Translation.)

Excellent Sir, "*Reina Isabel II*," *Algeciras, October* 27, 1859.

I HAVE received your Excellency's obliging communication of this day, and, in reply, have to inform you that, at present, I have no orders to attack any point of the coast of Morocco; only that to blockade certain points of the said coast.

I suppose that when the Government of Her Majesty the Queen (whom Heaven protect!) may decide upon military operations, it will give notice to friendly nations, through the medium of their Representatives.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) SEGUNDO DIAS DE HERRERA,
*Commandant-General.*

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Inclosure 4 in No. 74.

*General Echagne to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.*

(Translation.)

Excellent Sir, *Algeciras, October* 27, 1859.

I HAVE just received the obliging communication which your Excellency has been pleased to address me under this date, in consequence of Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier having informed your Excellency that M. Blanco del Valle, Chargé d'Affaires of Her Most Catholic Majesty in the same place, had intimated to him that relations had been broken off between the Spanish and Moorish Governments, and that hostilities would probably follow shortly; upon which your Excellency, in accordance with instructions from your Government, addresses yourself to my authority, begging me to give you notice, with sufficient anticipation, of my intention to attack any point, or points, of the Morocco coast, in order that your Excellency may place in safety, in the vessels of Her Britannic Majesty, or others, British subjects and their property; assuring me, lastly, that no prejudice to the operations of the war should result from this courtesy, since the Moors should have no other notice except that which might appear from the departure of the Christians residing in the country.

In reply, I have to inform your Excellency that the retirement from Tangier of the Spanish Consul, M. Blanco del Valle, is certain, and that relations have been broken off between the Government of Her Catholic Majesty and that of



Morocco; but it is not possible for me to inform your Excellency when, how, and where hostilities will break out, or operations be undertaken, seeing that the only forces under my command being those which compose the first corps d'armée of the army which is being organized and collected to cross over to Africa, I am subordinate to the dispositions and orders which may be communicated to me by Her Majesty's Government, or the General-in-chief who is to command the said army; but I am quite sure that, in case it was permitted me to inform your Excellency of my intention to attack such or such a point—if the movements of the army depended on me, this courtesy or deference towards the commander of the naval forces of a friendly nation would not prove prejudicial to the operations of war.

I avail, &c.

The General Commanding the 1st Corps d'Armée,
(Signed) RAFAEL ECHAGUE.

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No. 75.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(No. 49.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 7, 1859.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 52 of the 25th ultimo, transmitting a letter from the Moorish Minister Khateeb, inclosing copies of his correspondence with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires on the subject of the demands made by Spain upon Morocco; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government cannot blame the Moorish Government for the decision which they have taken respecting those demands. But our course, as between the two belligerents, will be strictly neutral.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 76.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 8, 1859.

IF Tangier is bombarded, you will apply for passage to go to Gibraltar. If quietly abandoned to the Spaniards, you will use your own discretion about staying there.

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No. 77.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 8.)

(No. 65.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 29, 1859.

ALL the Europeans and Jews that remained at Tangier embarked this morning on board Her Majesty's ship "Cadmus," with the exception of the United States', Swedish, Neapolitan, and Belgian Consuls-General, the Portuguese Vice-Consul, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Mr. Green, and myself. The French Chargé d'Affaires and officers of the French Consulate also left this day.

The French frigate "Impératrice Eugénie," Her Majesty's corvette "Vulture," and the Swedish corvette, remain in the bay.

Her Majesty's ships "Doris, "Scylla," "Coquette," and "Quail," have been dispatched to the ports of Morocco to embark British and European subjects and Her Majesty's Consular officers.

The Moorish population of Tangier have behaved in a friendly and peaceable manner towards Europeans during their embarkation. The greatest enthusiasm prevails here for the war. The Sultan's brother Mulai Abbas, with a large body of Cavalry, and several thousand mountaineers of this province, are expected very shortly. A number of Moors have been enlisted to serve the guns



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in the Tangier batteries, and are receiving as good pay as British troops. Ten pounds reward is promised to each man who remains firm at his gun, and if he is killed, the bounty will be given to his family. Any artilleryman who abandons his gun is to be put to death.

The new cannon placed in the fortifications are very large, and of an excellent quality. If the Moors were experienced in gunnery, no force the Spaniards could bring against them would be able to resist the fire of the Tangier batteries. The disciplined troops of the Spaniards, if landed on the plains of Tetuan, on the beach of Tangier Bay, or on the western shore to the south of Cape Spartel, where the country is flat, will, no doubt, drive before them the hordes of wild Moors who may oppose them; but if they penetrate into the hilly or mountainous districts, they will probably be defeated.

Before a Spanish force can enter Tangier or Tetuan, I expect they will sustain very heavy losses, and perhaps be repulsed; but even if the Spanish troops do enter Tetuan or Tangier, I do not expect they will be able to bring this Government or people to terms. The Moors will continue to harass the Spanish troops day and night; provisions will be cut off; and unless the Spanish Government is prepared to sacrifice 100,000 men and millions of money, they will never be enabled to compel this Government to cede them any territory by Treaty stipulation.

It is reported that a body of Spanish Cavalry has lately been sent to Ceuta, and that Tetuan is to be the point of attack, and that Tangier will be merely bombarded.

All the female population of Tangier has left; and I do not believe if the Spanish troops entered to-morrow, they would find 100*l.* worth of moveable property, except the furniture left in the houses of the foreign Representatives.

I shall remain at my post as long as I can prudently do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 78.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 11.)

(No. 66.)

My Lord, *Tangier, October* 30, 1859.

THE Consuls-General of the United States, Two Sicilies, and Belgium, and the Portuguese Vice-Consul, left Tangier this day in Her Majesty's ship "Lapwing" for Gibraltar. The European and Jewish population have now all departed from Tangier.

I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a telegram I have received from Mr. Buchanan. The assurances given by Marshal O'Donnell, that British subjects will be respected, have decided me on remaining here to watch passing events. I have confidence in the friendly conduct of the Mohamedans of Tangier, who have behaved admirably towards Europeans and Jews during their embarkation: nobody has been insulted, no property pilfered or injured.

When the bombardment by sea or by land takes place, I shall withdraw with Mr. Reade, Mr. Green, and Mr. James Drummond Hay, to a hill about two miles from Tangier, where I have caused tents to be pitched in a village of some friendly Moors, with whom I shall feel far more confident of a kind reception than from the Spanish officers or soldiers if they take this town by assault, especially as I have seen several paragraphs in the Spanish papers in which false accusations are made against me, and I am pointed at as the author of the humiliations which the editors choose to declare Spain has had to submit to from the Moors of late years. I have removed from my house my plate and more valuable furniture; but the heavier articles, my books and my wine, I have no means, at present, of packing or removing. The Moors and Kabyles will, I think, respect my house, and, after the engagements given by the Spanish Government, I trust your Lordship will hold the latter responsible if my house is pillaged by their troops, as I shall leave property to the value of about 1000*l.*

I have taken steps with the authorities and with my Moorish friends, to cause all the European Consulates, including the Spanish Consular House and



Spanish Chapel, to be respected. The chief Roman Catholic Priest called on me before he left, and recommended the Chapel to my care. His wishes shall be attended to as far as it is in my power.

I think my presence here, even now that all the Europeans have gone, may be of considerable service, before the war is over; not only to enable me to keep Her Majesty's Government informed of passing events, and to maintain our relations with the Moorish Court, but also in case the Moors repulse the Spaniards and prisoners are taken, I may, in the cause of humanity, use my influence to prevent the atrocities which an infuriated and semi-civilized people may be disposed to indulge in, especially as I apprehend, from the past history of the Spaniards, and from the late atrocities committed by them at Ceuta, they will set a bad example to their Mohamedan enemies in their conduct of the war.

I have asked Admiral Fanshawe to leave me one of Her Majesty's ships in or about the Tangier waters, with which I can communicate by signals in case of necessity.

I do not think any great danger attends our permanence in this country; but should any unforeseen accident take place, I feel confident Her Majesty's Government would make a suitable provision for the families of those of us who are married men. The Moors seem highly pleased that Mr. Reade, Mr. Green, and myself remain, though I have told them clearly we are only pacific spectators.

I inclose the copies of two despatches from the Vice-Consul at Tetuan. I expect Mr. James Hay will have left that town this day, in Her Majesty's ship "Quail," and will join us in a few days.

I am sorry to say that the Mr. Butler spoken of by Mr. Buchanan in the accompanying telegram, is the son of the late British Vice-Consul at Tetuan: he has been many years a British merchant residing in that city; his mother was a Spanish lady, and one of his sisters married a Spanish officer.

I regret extremely that any British subject who has lived in this country, and met, as an Englishman, with kind treatment from the Moors, should now betray them. Without telling the Moorish Minister whence I obtained the information, I think it but fair that I should recommend him to warn the authorities here and at Tetuan, and at the Castle in front of Ceuta, against putting the slightest confidence in Mr. Butler, should he appear amongst them, whether he present himself alone, or as a follower of the invading army. He speaks the Arabic, is known to all the Moors, and is well acquainted with the country.

I shall state distinctly also, that Mr. Butler is not an emissary of the British Government, and that the Moors must look with suspicion upon any verbal or written communication passing through such a source.

I trust your Lordship will approve my taking such a step, so that it be not said hereafter that an Englishman betrayed the Moors into the hands of the Spaniards, with the knowledge of the British Agent in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 78.

*Mr. Buchanan to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, October* 28, 1859, 2·20 P.M.

PRESIDENT of the Council has assured me that you and any British subjects remaining in Morocco will meet with due respect and protection. Similar assurances have been given to Her Majesty's Secretary of State by the Spanish Minister in London.

A Mr. Butler has arrived here from Tetuan to see his sister, having been sent for at the wish of the Spanish Government. He is, I am told, furnishing them with information, and is to accompany the expedition.

Hostilities will probably be deferred till the middle of November.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 78.

*Vice-Consul Hay to Mr. D. Hay.*

*Tetuan, October* 28, 1859.

Sir,

SINCE the 26th instant, when the rupture of relations between Spain and Morocco was publicly proclaimed in this town, and the inhabitants were called upon to arm themselves, the Governor of Tetuan has taken energetic steps to place the town and port in a state of defence.

A guard of 500 armed men have been placed at the Water Port, and the Castle of Marteen has been well provided with ammunition, provisions, and men to work the guns. Muskets, powder, and ball are furnished to all the inhabitants of the town and district by the Governor.

The Kabyles of the district of Shishowan, and all the inhabitants of the mountains around Tetuan have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to come to the defence of the town. Beacon-fires have been prepared, which are to be lighted whenever the signal of two cannon-shots fired from the Tetuan Castle give warning. The mountaineers will then flock to Tetuan and its plains. The armed men on foot will, it is expected, then exceed 30,000. The Cavalry at present does not exceed 100, but large bodies of troops are daily expected from the interior.

It is not known whether the Spaniards will determine on landing their forces at Marteen, and marching on Tetuan, or whether they intend advancing overland from Ceuta.

A paddle-wheel steamer and a frigate, which to all appearance are Spanish, have been cruizing off this port for the last twenty-four hours: their object is not known. The smaller vessel has approached within gun-shot of the batteries at Marteen without hoisting her flag, and the Moors, greatly to their credit, have refrained from firing at her.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S., October 29.—A Moorish officer, commanding a body of about fifty Cavalry, arrived this afternoon from the interior. At this moment, 6 P.M., the Castle has fired the two gun-shots, the signal to the mountaineers to light their beacon-fires, and give warning to the Kabyles to march to the defence of the town.

Great enthusiasm prevails. The Moors clamour for war, and are all well armed.

J. DE V. D. H.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 78.

*Vice-Consul Hay to Mr. D. Hay.*

*Tetuan, October* 29, 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you Her Majesty's gun-boat "Quail," Lieutenant-Commander Osborne, arrived this morning. I went down to the port, and received the Commander on landing at 11 A.M. It being too late in the day for notice to be given to British subjects to go down to the port, Commander Osborne has been kind enough to remain here until to-morrow morning, when British subjects and Europeans desiring to embark will be able to do so.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular despatch of the 25th ultimo, received by the "Quail."

I have thought it expedient, under all the circumstances of the case, and hearing that no British subject intends remaining at this port, to avail myself of your permission, and to embark also on board Her Majesty's ship "Quail," and after proceeding to Gibraltar, shall cross over to Tangier by first opportunity. Should you desire me, I can then return to my post at Tetuan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.



P.S.—The French Vice-Consul here has received instructions this afternoon from his Chief at Tangier, to hold himself in readiness to embark on board a French steamer, which will arrive here to-morrow. I had previously offered M. Nahon a passage on board the "Quail."

J. DE V. D. H.

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No. 79.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 11.)

(No. 67.)

My Lord,

*Tangier, November* 2, 1859.

I HAVE received your Lordship's telegram of the 31st ultimo, directing me to send to Gibraltar the archives of this Mission, and that all women and children be recommended to leave Tangier, as the town will be probably attacked. Your Lordship will have learnt from my despatches No. 65 of the 29th, and No. 66 of the 30th ultimo, that your Lordship's wishes in this respect had been forestalled, and not only have the families of Europeans and Jews departed, but also the women and children of the Mohamedan population have left for the villages and towns of this province.

Mulai Abbas, the Sultan's brother, arrived here to-day. The forces that accompany his Highness have remained encamped at a distance of eight miles from Tangier.

I paid my respects to his Highness on his arrival. I praised the conduct of the local authorities and population towards Europeans and Jews on their embarkation, and I requested his Highness to continue to take energetic measures for preventing any injury being done to the houses of the foreign Agents, and of Europeans and Jews in general. His Highness gave orders, in my presence, to this effect. He has also directed that, when I desire to leave the town for the site where I have caused my tents to be pitched, a body-guard of the Sultan's Cavalry be sent to attend me.

Yesterday a Moor, found breaking into the house of a Jew, now at Gibraltar with his family, was publicly flogged round the town on the back of an animal, and compelled to proclaim, whilst being flogged, the cause of his punishment. This has had a good effect in preventing further irregularities.

Mr. James Drummond Hay, the British Vice-Consul at Tetuan, arrived here last night, in Her Majesty's ship "Lapwing." He left Tetuan on the 30th ultimo with seventy-eight British subjects, Europeans, and the families of the Hebrew officers and servants of the Vice-Consulate. He informs me that at the time of embarkation, some of the mountaineers and soldiers commenced pillaging the Jews, and one British subject was attacked. Mr. James Drummond Hay had one of the soldiers bastinadoed severely on the spot, and the property that was taken from the British subject was restored to him. He is of opinion that if the Spaniards do not enter Tetuan, the Jew quarter will not be attacked by the Kabyles, as precautions have been taken by the Governor to ensure their safety. I have spoken strongly on this subject to the Moorish Minister. Mr. James D. Hay says the Mahometan women had not left the town, and that the inhabitants have sworn to perish rather than allow the Spaniards to enter. The Kabyles are ready to come down in large numbers on the beacons being lighted, as has been pre-arranged.

As Mr. James D. Hay will be useful to me, I shall retain him here on the public service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 80.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 11.)

(No. 69.)

My Lord, *Tangier, November* 2, 1859.

A SPANISH sailing frigate and a small Spanish steamer have been cruizing off and on this port during the last week, though no blockade of this or any other port in Morocco, as far as I am aware, has been officially or formally announced.

Admiral Fanshawe informs me a British schooner, the "St. Nicholas," has been warned off the coast of Tetuan by a Spanish vessel-of-war, and that the Admiral had therefore the intention of asking explanations of the Spanish Admiral.

Yesterday the Spanish frigate cruizing off this port fired a cannon-shot at the French steamer "Mouette," and sent a boat. The French Admiral happened to be on board; and I am told by a person who was present that the Admiral had used some strong expressions regarding the affront to the French flag, and the irregularity of the blockade.

The French Admiral landed here, and had some communication with the Moorish Minister regarding the respect to be paid to the residence of the French Chargé d'Affaires and flagstaff. The Moorish Government facilitated the embarkation of some thirty head of cattle for the French squadron at Algeciras.

The French frigate "Impératrice Eugénie," and Her Majesty's corvette "Vulture," are still in this bay. The boats of the former very rarely come on shore.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—The Moors have been practising to-day with their new guns, and the precision of fire was unusually good, considering the inexperience of the gunners. If they will only keep to their guns, I have heard it said by competent judges, the Spanish squadron will be sunk or disabled.

J. H. D. H.

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No. 81.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 11.)

No. 511. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November* 3, 1859.

THE Spanish Press continues, daily, to devote long articles to the war, to which they give the most exaggerated importance. Offerings are announced from all quarters. Declarations of support are addressed to the Queen; and benedictions from ecclesiastical dignitaries are pronounced upon the army. The Queen has placed her Civil List and her jewels at the disposal of the Government. Officers on the retired list request that their half-pay may be devoted to the expenses of the war; and Cuchanes, the bull-fighter, has presented the military authorities with a quantity of cattle. In fact, every day some new act of patriotic generosity is announced to the public.

The municipalities of the great towns have all manifested their approval of the war by addresses to the Queen, offering, in some way or another, to promote it; and the prisoners of the "Saladero," the Newgate of Madrid, have forwarded an address to her Majesty, requesting that they may be permitted to advance the holy cause by making clothes for the army.

Wherever troops pass they are blessed by the highest dignitaries of the Church; and the Patriarch of the Indies has addressed a pastoral letter to the army, setting forth the duties which they will have to practise as warriors of the Cross in the land of the Infidel.

Indeed, if 300,000 French soldiers were ready to descend from the Pyrenees to march upon Madrid, it would be impossible to do more to excite



popular enthusiasm to resist the invaders than Spanish public writers and public functionaries are now doing to make the nation believe that "a link" is being forged which is to unite a new era of power and glory with the days of past Spanish greatness; and if it be not true that the storm of patriotism, and the thirst for conquest, which are now raging, will subside as easily as they have been excited, which I am assured they will, there would be reason to apprehend that the Government would find it impossible to restrict themselves to obtaining the objects in Morocco for which they profess that the war has been undertaken, and to which they declare it will be strictly limited.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 82.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 11.)

(No. 513.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November* 6, 1859.

A ROYAL Decree published in the "Gazette" of the 4th instant, nominates Marshal O'Donnell General-in-chief of the Army of Africa, with the reservation of his present appointments, for the discharge of the duties of which provisional arrangements will be made.

The same Decree authorizes his Excellency to recommend to the Queen superior officers for such rewards as she may think fit, and to confer military rank on the field of battle to that of Colonel, inclusive.

Another Decree was published in the same "Gazette," dividing Spain into five military districts, and appointing Marshal Concha, Generals Dulce, Pavia, Aleson, and Manchessi, respectively, to the chief command in them.

Marshal O'Donnell is daily expected to set out, by land, for Cadiz, to which port the Staff of the Army proceeded, viâ Alicante, on the 3rd instant, accompanied by an Englishman named Butler, who has resided for some years at Tetuan.

The storms which have prevailed during the last week have delayed the transport to the south of the troops stationed in the northern ports under orders for Africa; and it is said that various supplies ordered from abroad have not yet been received, and that other preliminary arrangements are still incomplete. The commanders of the different corps are, however, all at their posts, and the whole force now under orders for the army of Africa will amount to about 50,000 men. The army will be furnished from the coast with all its supplies. Several cargoes of pressed hay have been received from England for this purpose, and large quantities of provisions and forage have been already forwarded to Ceuta.

Some persons believe that Marshal O'Donnell will begin operations from Ceuta with about 15,000 men, and that he will proceed from thence to cover the disembarkation of the rest of the army on the coast, about three miles from Tangier.

Mr. Butler, however, I am told, disapproves of this plan, and describes the country near the coast, between Ceuta and Tangier, to be intersected by defiles through which it would be dangerous for an army to march. I am told that he is, therefore, of opinion that the whole force should first proceed from Ceuta to Tetuan, which he considers will prove an easy conquest; and that they should subsequently move from thence upon Tangier. He is said also to encourage Marshal O'Donnell to advance into the interior as far as Fez; but it is supposed here that the operations will be limited to the coast. Marshal O'Donnell also has expressed a hope that he will be able to present the Queen with the keys of Tangier on her birthday, the 19th instant, and has spoken of his own return to Madrid before the 1st of January next.

Should the Moors, however, not be induced to make peace when his Excellency considers he has done enough for the honour of Spain, the war may be indefinitely prolonged, and prove extremely embarrassing to him, if it does not lead to new complications. In the meanwhile, nothing can exceed the virulence with which England is assailed by the press, and the most improbable

stories of British co-operation with the Moors are believed by persons who ought to have the means of knowing that they are unfounded. General Officers have, indeed, it is said, written from Algeciras that earthworks are constructing at Tangier under the direction of British officers in British uniforms, who are also reported to be instructing the Moors in the use of the guns, of which powerful batteries are believed to have arrived from England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 83.

*Circular addressed by Señor Collantes to Spanish Missions abroad.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Señor Isturiz, November* 12.)

(Translation.)

Excellency, *Madrid, October* 29, 1859.

THE efforts of Her Majesty's Government to maintain peace have been wholly fruitless; the conciliatory and upright spirit which has guided it in the negotiations with the Government of Morocco, has not succeeded in overcoming the inconceivable resistance which the Minister of the King of Morocco has, from the first, opposed to the just demands presented by the Cabinet of Madrid. The Representative of Her Majesty the Queen in Tangier has withdrawn, with all the members of his Mission. The rupture of relations between the two Governments is therefore an accemplished fact.

In my circular of the 24th September, I declared to your Excellency what were the intentions of Her Majesty the Queen in this matter: those intentions have been faithfully carried out. Spain has done in the interest of peace all that was possible, but the case which she foresaw then has occurred; and Her Majesty's Government, strong in its right, and secure that it has not been the originator of a conflict whose results it deplores beforehand, is resolved to commence hostilities.

In appealing to this extreme measure ("medio supremo"), it believes it to be its duty to make known the indubitable justice with which it acts in this matter, to those Governments with which it has the pleasure to maintain amicable relations.

Such is the object of the present despatch.

All Europe knows, by its own experience, the outrages committed at all times by the unsubdued tribes who dwell on the coast of the Reef. The many vessels which daily traverse the Strait are exposed to the attacks of the Moorish boats ("carabos"), which have at times done acts of piracy on the high sea. There is hardly a nation whose subjects have not, from this cause, suffered considerable losses.

Spain, in addition to the losses which resulted from this cause to her commerce, constantly saw threatened her fortresses of Melilla, el Peñon, and Alhucemas, and their garrisons decimated by the incessant attacks of the Reef people.

Her Majesty's Government, although it might, right truly, have used the means it possesses to chastise twenty such outrages, has always applied to the Morocco Government, asking for redress of its grievances, and guarantees for the security of the Spanish fortresses on the African coast.

Giving signal proof of its desire for conciliation, it entered upon negotiations with this object, and, at the end of August, as your Excellency is aware, a Convention was signed tending to attain this advantageous object. The garrison of Ceuta was not included in this, because the Spanish Government trusted that Morocco would keep in check the neighbouring tribes, who are more tractable than those of the Reef, and whose vicinity to the fortress did not therefore cause the same inconveniences.

At the very time when that Treaty was being signed, the Moors of the province of Augera, aided by neighbouring tribes, attacked Ceuta, and repeated their attacks for several days, compelling the Queen's Government to reinforce the garrison of that fortress, and giving rise to several encounters, in which some Spanish soldiers were killed.

The Cabinet of Madrid immediately demanded the punishment of the



guilty, a proper satisfaction, and guarantees for the future, in the same form as it had obtained for Melilla.

The nature of these must correspond with the damages caused, and the importance of the place.

The special circumstances in which the Moorish Empire was placed by the death of the Sultan, and the ardent wish of the Cabinet of Madrid to terminate this conflict peacefully, induced it to prolong, twice, the term fixed for making the due reparation.

This new proof of moderation did not produce the result which might have been expected.

Two months passed without our being able to obtain any definitive answer to the well-founded demands of Her Majesty's Representative at Tangier. The Minister of Morocco, Seid Mohamed El Khateeb, replied to them by subterfuges, or, rather, with vague promises to do justice.

The final term was about to expire on the 15th of the present month, and all that it had been possible to obtain was the offer, *in principio*, to punish the guilty parties, and to salute the flag of Spain; the new boundaries of the jurisdictional territory of Ceuta, the enlargement of which was proved to be necessary by the recent attacks, remaining in dispute. Those marked out in the Convention of 1845 were not sufficient for the defence of the place. What was done in regard to Melilla, for the same reason, in the Convention of the 25th of August of this year, and approved by the new King of Morocco, should be applied to Ceuta to avoid a repetition of the attacks.

In the last days of the term appointed the negotiations took a different turn. The Minister of Morocco addressed to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier two notes, from the contents of which the Queen's Government conceived the flattering hope of preserving peace, and of attaining, by diplomatic means, what was demanded by the dignity of the nation and its legitimate interest.

In the first of these notes, dated the 11th instant (13th Rabea I, year 1276), Seid Mohamed El Khateeb stated that he had received from his Master a firman giving him full and ample powers to accede to the demands of Spain. In the same note he added, that he had not yet received a reply from his Sovereign to the reference which he had made to him upon the points in dispute, but that this was not necessary, because he had been authorized to settle all the matters pending.

In the second note, dated the 13th instant (15th Rabea I, year 1276), in reply to a note of the Representative of Her Majesty, in which he insisted on a declaration whether the demand would or would not be accepted which he had presented for the concession to Ceuta of new limits of jurisdiction, as far as the heights most convenient for the safety and defence of the place, the Moroccan Minister, Seid Mohamed El Khateeb, after saying that he had supposed that the heights in question were within the ancient limits (those of 1845), made the following declaration:—

"But if it be not as we suppose, as it is our determination to remove everything that may occasion any injury or displeasure between the two Parties, we accept that the said boundaries be extended to the elevated places most convenient for the security and tranquillity of the said fortress."

Her Majesty's Government, which, in presence of such decisive declarations, could not but consider all the difficulties hitherto raised to be satisfactorily settled, hastened to acquaint the Queen's Representative in Tangier with the form in which the satisfaction demanded, and so explicitly offered, should be carried into effect.

Señor Blanco del Valle, in conformity with his instructions, in a note of the 16th instant, stated the formalities ("solemnidades") with which they should be carried into effect:—

1st. That the Bey, or Governor of the Province, should himself place the arms of Spain in the situation in which they were when they were pulled down, and that he should make his soldiers salute them.

2ndly. That the persons guilty of the aggression should receive the exemplary chastisement they deserved, in presence of the garrison of Ceuta, by the hand of the Moroccan troops.

3rdly. That the Government of Morocco should nominate two engineers, who, together with two Spanish engineers, should determine the most suitable

places for the new line, with the understanding that the Sierra de Bullones should be taken as the basis of the demarkation.

Lively and profound was the surprise caused to the mind of the Queen's Government by the reply of Seid Mohamed El Khateeb to this note.

The Minister of Morocco replied by denying everything which he had so explicitly conceded, perverting the spirit of the notes of the Spanish Representative, and giving the lie to what he had said in his communication of the 11th instant, relative to his having received full powers to settle the questions pending with Spain.

Her Majesty's Government, with unspeakable regret, saw vanish those legitimate hopes which it had conceived, and that the generosity and good faith which it had shown in the whole course of the negotiations had been met by disloyalty; and, being convinced that neither the dignity of the nation nor its own honour would allow it to continue treating with one who so far misunderstood its honourable feelings, gave orders to the Consul-General of Spain in Tangier, after once more, in a reasoned note, demonstrating to the Moroccan Minister the inconsistency of his conduct, to lower his flag, and to withdraw, with all the members of the Spanish Mission, declaring the negotiations closed, and committing to the force of arms the settlement of the dispute raised, and the satisfaction for the outrage done to the national flag.

This simple narrative of all the facts that took place from the period when the dispute broke out, will prove to your Excellency the absolute necessity in which the Queen's Government has found itself to appeal to force in order to decide differences which have arisen. This is the last, though painful appeal, when serious and profound differences arise between two nations, and when one of them, as in the present case, will not listen to the voice of reason and justice.

I doubt not that the Government of will readily perceive that the latter is on the side of Spain.

On this solemn occasion the Queen's Government appeals to its judgment, and to that of other foreign Cabinets, certain that it will find in them all those sympathies which are inspired by moderation, dignity, and firmness, which it has endeavoured to unite in the defence of the offended national honour and of its legitimate interests; sentiments which it will not depart from, even when victory shall crown the efforts of its generous troops.

In the course of the war about to commence, the Cabinet of Madrid will respect the rights of neutral Powers, and will protect all the subjects of friendly nations established in those places of the Empire of Morocco that may be occupied by the Spanish arms.

Fitting instructions have been communicated in this sense to the commandant of the squadron intended to operate on the coasts of Morocco, and to the heads of corps of the expeditionary army.

Spain entrusts to her land and sea forces the defence of her offended honour and of her injured interests. Relying on her justice, sure that she has shown her moderation by undeniable actions, without combination with any other Power, exempt from all views of ambition, she wishes, by war, to put an end to that intolerable state of hostility in which the Moors who border on her fortresses are constantly placed towards her garrisons.

Nevertheless, whatever what may be the end of the military operations, and the nature of the guarantees which the Cabinet of Madrid may demand to secure their termination, and to prevent a repetition of the outrages committed against its fortresses, Her Majesty's Government, faithful to its intentions, will respect existing interests and the rights of all nations, and will not permanently occupy any point the possession of which may obtain for Spain a superiority dangerous to the free navigation of the Mediterranean.

Spain has endeavoured to maintain pacific and even friendly relations with Morocco, and for this object she has signed four Treaties in the course of a century. Their due execution would have gradually dissipated all motive for disturbance and conflict, but the ignorance or the neglect of the Government of Morocco has always violated them, almost as soon as they had been concluded, after laborious negotiations.

It is now time that a state of things between two neighbouring nations, so irregular, and so perilous to their mutual tranquillity and interests, should cease



That which neither reason nor the persevering efforts of enlightened Governments could effect, must be attained by force strengthened by justice.

Your Excellency will be pleased to read and give a copy of this despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of

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No. 84.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Hammond.*—(*Received November* 14.)

(Private.)

My dear Hammond, *Tangier, November* 6, 1859.

IN a paragraph of the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of the 4th, herewith inclosed, you will find an announcement of first French victory over the Moorish tribes.

I sent my brother to Khateeb, on receipt of this information, with directions to read the paragraph to the Minister, and to repeat the advice I had given on a former occasion, viz., "that the Sultan refrain from attacking French troops who invade the Moorish frontier with any of the Sultan's regular or paid troops, unless, of course, the French march on Mequinez or Fez."

Khateeb had not received any tidings of this battle overland; but he dispatched an express messenger to the Sultan, reporting the language I had directed my brother to hold.

In the paragraph of the 2nd instant, inclosed herewith, you will observe it is stated one of the Zafferine Islands held by Spain has been ceded to France, to form a depôt. This, coupled with the statement made in the French papers that Louis Napoleon had consented to issue war stores to the Spanish Government, as had been done to the Sardinians during the Italian war, appears to be a subject for thought, even though the "Moniteur" qualifies the statement as "inexact."

From the very outset of the Mauro-Spanish differences, I have been inclined to apprehend that Spain has been hissed on secretly by France to fight the Moor; so that, even if peace be made after the conflict, the action of Great Britain might be tested, and become a precedent for the French in future, if not present, quarrels with Morocco. We can hardly say "Yes" to the Don, and allow him to stop our supplies, or to occupy Tangier for a time, and "No" to the French.

The fact of the French operations on the Algerine frontier commencing about the same time as hostilities on this side, is a suspicious combination. You remember the new Sultan directed the Minister to write to Castellon and express his regret at what had occurred on the frontier, and to promise redress. The assemblage of troops on the French frontier appears to be far greater than is required for the chastisement of the frontier tribes. I believe French Generals are capable of framing any story to suit their ambitious purposes, even though the French Government may have been sincere at the time they assured Her Majesty's Government they would make no attack on the integrity or independence of Morocco. We shall hear, perhaps, some day, if the war against Morocco is prolonged, that unforeseen circumstances rendered it expedient for France to alter her intentions.

You will learn from my despatch of this date, that the contractor's steamer is permitted by the Spanish Admiral to convey oxen from Tangier to Gibraltar. The steamer has arrived, but only forty oxen, after waiting three days, are to be bought, and the price of an ox has risen 200 per cent. The blockade, the menace of hostilities, the departure of the Hebrew and Christian traders, have paralyzed trade of every description. Not a shop is open at Tangier, except a few where oil, soap, and charcoal are to be bought. The permit of the Spanish Admiral is only for oxen to feed John Bull, but the supplies from Tangier to Her Majesty's garrison and population were of every description from a fowl to a radish.

The Don appears to be in no hurry about commencing the war. By menacing hostilities, he has ruined British trade with Morocco, for all the

Vice-Consuls and merchants have withdrawn from the coast; and by putting two little poky steamers in the Straits, he has stopped the supplies of Her Majesty's garrison from Tangier, and Tetuan, and Laraiche, and this in the teeth of our ten ships of the line. December is now talked of as the month when hostilities are to be commenced, and Arzyla or Laraiche to be attacked. The former has only five or six honeycombed cannon, no troops in the town or neighbourhood, and in an east wind a landing could be effected. The place is very small, not much larger than the ground occupied by the Houses of Parliament, but there are vast solid walls of ancient Portuguese construction, which no Moorish guns could demolish if the Don once enters. If he got a footing there, he could march upon Tangier, Laraiche, or even Fez, as he pleased. Arzyla has even been opened to European commerce. It is situated in the Tangier Province, about fifteen miles south of Cape Spartel. We have a Consular Agent there. Her Majesty's steamer "Scylla" was to have called to take him and his family off, but the westerly winds have hitherto prevented communication with the shore of that port. The Consular Agent, a native Jew, has been writing letter after letter in great terror of the tribes, and begging me to send for him overland. Mr. Reade has volunteered to go to Arzyla, to conduct the Jew and and his family here in safety. Reade knows how to manage the Moors. The Sultan's brother has sent some thirty Cavalry with him. It requires the presence of an Englishman to ensure respect being paid to the Consular Agent, as a vessel of war cannot communicate: moreover, I gladly took advantage of the spirited offer of Reade, to travel across country at this moment of excitement amongst the tribes, as I have thought he may bring back more exact information for Her Majesty's Government than my memory can present, of the town, its position, defences, &c., which may be important for our Government to possess. Reade started this morning.

The Moorish Government has been sending away into the interior several Moors and renegades who are suspected of corresponding with the Spaniards.

Yesterday evening heavy firing was heard about eight miles to the eastward. Moors have arrived this morning and report that a Spanish steamer was firing shot on a sandy beach about five miles from Cape Malabat. I don't know what could have been the object of the Commander, unless he was firing at a mark for his own amusement, or that he had orders from the Admiral to try whether heavy guns fired at any particular spot would draw away any large body of Moorish troops from Tangier, Ceuta, or Tetuan, or, on the other hand, whether any serious opposition would be offered to the landing of troops on the spot, of which he might suppose some opinion could be formed by the number that might have been collected after two hours' firing. It has been a good warning, however, for the Moors, who are wary enough not to fall into manifest traps. Probably the Spaniards will make an attack by sea ("à la distance") on Tangier when they effect a landing either to the eastward or westward; but I don't suppose the Don will expose his weak squadron to the Tangier batteries by coming into the bay, though he may try the effect of rifle guns at three miles off. Tangier is, however, very badly defended on the land side, but the Moors are hard at work clearing out the moat, strengthening the walls, and have put seventeen or eighteen cannon on the land side in good positions. The tribes who had assembled have returned to their homes, but before the middle of the month will be back here.

If the Spaniards put off the war much longer, and continue to make such preparations as may lead our Government to apprehend they menace more than they have told us, I hope Lord John Russell will require some material guarantee, and that Tangier be occupied by a British land force, or that a heavy squadron be stationed in Tangier Bay. I should put no trust in Spanish assurances by the experience I have had of their worth. I would suggest that Her Majesty's Government come also to some distinct understanding with other Governments regarding Tangier and the Straits for the future; or France, or any other nation which has a couple of steamers to spare, may, upon the pretext of having a grievance against Morocco, blockade the northern ports and stop our supplies and destroy our trade with Morocco. Though the Moor may be said to be the enemy, the blow may be intended to annoy Great Britain.

Now that I have Lord John Russell's kind permission to submit my crude views, I do so without hesitation, and I trouble you with long letters and information which I would not venture to put into a despatch, for you will be



able to sift the grain from the chaff, from the tidings received from Madrid, Paris, &c.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—All quiet here, and everybody civil to the "Ingliz."

J. H. D. H.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 84.

*Extract from the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of November* 2, 1859.

WE learn that the "St. Nicholas," Ferrary, master, on her passage to Tangier from Gibraltar, was boarded by a Spanish cruizer; and, after examining her papers, was ordered off. The French Government steamer "Mouette," which left this yesterday morning, was fired upon by a Spanish man-of-war cruizing off Tangier.

A private letter from Tangier, of yesterday's date, announces that the blockade has commenced by the Spanish man-of-war. Everything appeared to be very tranquil in that town, as far as could be discerned from the bay.

The following is an extract of a private letter from the Chafferine Islands dated the 22nd ultimo, published by the "Correo de Andalucia," a Malaga paper:—

"The French steamer 'Caton,' of eight guns, arrived here at about 9 P.M. According to the news brought by her, entitled to credit, the French intend to secure, apparently with good success, their landing and retreat. The steamer has been commissioned to acquaint the Military Governor of those islands with the landing, in case of bad weather or other accident, of several regiments. It seems that the whole of the island of El Rey (one of the three composing the Chafferine) has been ceded to the French, in order that they might establish on it whatever is required. Troops are expected there which will be encamped as a reserve to render assistance in case of need. The 'Caton' weighed anchor at 12 P.M., and left towards the river, where she arrived at 1 A.M., remaining there till dark. We also learn from some of the crew of the said steamer, that the reason for not landing on the 20th, was in consequence of the non-arrival at Nemours of the battalions of Zouaves embarked at Genoa to form part of the expedition. They were hourly expected, and, in conjunction with other forces, would commence operations."

Another letter from the same islands, of the 25th says:—

"The encampment is not visible on account of the weather. A strong northerly wind prevails. The firing of guns is distinctly heard in the same direction as yesterday. Three paddle-wheel steamers cast anchor here at 2 P.M. The 'Christopher Colombe' is the flag-ship. The Zouaves disembarked at Nemours from Oran and Genoa, and the steamers have come to this port for shelter, where it seems nine others are expected. Several officers have landed who confirm the statement regarding the intended landing mentioned above, and also that the operations would commence as soon as the troops were assembled. The Moors have watch-fires lighted up to-night. The steamers left in the direction of the River Miloua on the morning of the 25th."

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Inclosure 2 in No. 84.

*Extract from the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of November* 4, 1859.

THE statement made in a letter from the Chafferine Islands of the 25th (see Wednesday's "Chronicle"), that the firing of guns was distinctly heard in the direction of the Moorish camp, seems to be perfectly correct. Intelligence reached Madrid on the 31st, announcing that the French had had their first battle with the Maroqueens on the 26th, and obtained a complete victory.

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No. 85.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 15, 6 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Tangier, November 10, 1859.*

IN compliance with instructions, if Tangier is bombarded, and I have timely notice, I will embark and go to Gibraltar. If there is not time to embark before the bombardment, I retire to my tents in the neighbouring hills, and out of way of hostilities.

I do not think Tangier will be taken on the sea-side. Moors would never abandon any town or territory without a struggle. Sultan would be detested if he were to issue so unpopular an order.

Should the Spaniards enter the town I will embark on coast, or ask permission to re-enter town, and embark. I shall not remain in any town occupied by Spaniards.

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No. 86.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 15, 1859.*

YOU will do right to repair to your tents, if you have not time to embark in case of bombardment. But you should take the first opportunity afterwards of passing over to Gibraltar.

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No. 87.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 15.)*

(No. 525.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November 10, 1859.*

BEFORE Marshal O'Donnell left Madrid to take the command of the army of Africa, the Deputies from the Basque Provinces waited upon his Excellency to communicate to him a Resolution adopted on the 5th instant by the Provincial authorities, to place at the disposal of the Government during the war in Africa 3,000 men, who will be equipped and maintained by the three Provinces, together with an immediate contribution of 40,000*l.*

Municipal bodies, also, continue to vote considerable sums of money to be offered to the Government to meet the expenses of the war, or to be employed hereafter in pensions to a given number of non-commissioned officers and privates who may distinguish themselves.

Military officers and Civil functionaries are daily reported as renouncing their pay for the period the war lasts; while the people in the Provinces are said to be in the highest state of excitement, the Bishops and clergy having aroused their fanaticism by the pastoral addresses which they have published.

Several large steam-vessels have been freighted by the Government at Marseilles; and it may be presumed that the sailing of the expedition will not be delayed many days after Marshal O'Donnell joins the army.

It is now hinted by some persons that neither Tangier nor Tetuan will be the first object of attack, but that it is intended to disembark at Rabat or some other Atlantic port. I should doubt, however, the naval means at the disposal of the Government being sufficient for such a purpose.

The "Gazette" of this morning contains a Royal Decree, setting forth the endeavours which it says have been made by the Government to obtain satisfaction from Morocco by amicable means, and ordering public prayers for three consecutive days for Divine protection to the army of Africa.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 88.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 144.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 16, 1859.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 525 of the 10th instant, relative to the excitement which prevails in Spain upon the subject of the war with Morocco, and reporting that the Madrid "Gazette" of the 10th instant contains a Royal Decree setting forth the endeavours which have been made by the Government of Her Catholic Majesty to obtain satisfaction from Morocco by amicable means, and ordering public prayers for three consecutive days for the protection of the Spanish army in Africa.

In reply, I have to state to you that notwithstanding the Decree in the Madrid "Gazette," and the declaration made to me by Señor Isturiz, on the part of Señor Collantes, of whose despatch I inclose a copy, it is clear that the Spanish Government have all along kept back demands, which in the end were sure to be resisted by the Moors.

Thus they have made certain of war at their own time and for their own purposes.

We have nothing now to do but to remain perfectly quiet. We have obtained the assurances we desired, and if it is the passion of Spain to make war in Morocco, they must be indulged in their caprice.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 89.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received May 19.)*

(No. 524.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November 10, 1859.*

SOME late articles in the English newspapers, particularly in the "Morning Herald," and, among others, some in the "Times," which represented the Spanish war in Africa to be inspired by French counsels, and to be undertaken with the promise of French assistance, have given great offence here, and have occasioned much angry discussion in the press.

It seems, however, that some articles prepared for publication on this subject were so violent and abusive, that the authorities prevented their appearance—an interference on the part of the Government which has excited the displeasure of the Marquis de Molins, formerly Minister of Marine in the Cabinet of Marshal Narvaez, and also in that of M. Sartorius; and has obliged M. Calderon Collantes to defend in the Senate the course of the Government on this subject, on the ground that if they had permitted injuries to be answered by injuries, having the power by the present law to prevent it, such a permission might have lead to a belief that the attacks of the Press on foreign and friendly Governments were authorized by the Government themselves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 90.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 19.)*

(No. 527.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November 10, 1859.*

THE "Gibraltar Chronicle" having published copies of the correspondence which has taken place between Don Juan Blanco del Valle and the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs in the negotiations which preceded the rupture between Spain and Morocco, it was copied yesterday into the Spanish newspapers.

None of them have yet expressed any opinion upon the subject; but I have

reason to believe the perusal of the documents in question has caused deep regret to the friends of the Government, and that it has convinced the public who read, that the war has been undertaken on grounds which cannot be defended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 91.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 149.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 21, 1859.

HER Majesty's Government are sorry to learn that the late publication in the "Gazette" has produced an impression unfavourable to England and to the Spanish Government.

But as our immediate predecessors had intended to resist by force the landing of Spanish troops at Tangier or its neighbourhood, it was necessary to show at once that Her Majesty's Government, while anxious to comply with the wishes expressed by Spain, had not neglected national interests, or the general interest of all nations, in the freedom of navigation to and from the Mediterranean Sea.

Her Majesty's Government remain of opinion that an ultimatum, precise in its terms, would, in the first instance, have procured redress for Spanish injuries, and satisfaction for Spanish honour.

But an ultimatum enlarged, amplified, and becoming more and more indefinite in the extent of ground asked for, was sure to excite the fears and jealousies of the Moors.

We rely on Spanish honour for a scrupulous fulfilment of engagements taken by the Crown of Spain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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No. 92.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 21.)

(No. 531.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November* 15, 1859.

THE "Gazette" publishes, daily, addresses from the Spanish Bishops and their Clergy to the Queen, assuring Her Majesty of their interest in the war, and in some cases offering contributions towards its support. One prelate also avails himself of the opportunity to express his horror at the "internal war" which is being waged elsewhere against the Pope.

The Minister of the Interior has addressed a circular which appeared in the "Gazette" of the 13th instant, to the Governor of Provinces, as to their duties during the war; but more particularly instructing them to prevent the circulation of any publications subversive of public confidence in the foreign policy of the Government, criticising the operations of the army in Africa, or spreading false rumours respecting them; and to forbid the discussion in the Press, or the publication of any documents which have not emanated from the Government, respecting the military operations, or any questions affecting them.

In addition to those procured from Marseilles, the Government have also chartered steam-vessels at Genoa, and it becomes, therefore, more probable that they may intend to effect a disembarkation at an Atlantic port, and march from thence upon Fez or Mequinez.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 93.

*Mr. Buchanan to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November* 21.)

(No. 534. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Madrid, November* 15, 1859.

I SAW Señor Calderon Collantes yesterday, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government had received as satisfactory the assurances of the Spanish Government that they would not seek to occupy positions on the coast of the Straits of Gibraltar which might prove dangerous to the freedom of the passage; and I acquainted him, at the same time, with the observations addressed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 135 of the 4th instant, as to the regret with which Her Majesty's Government, as the sincere friends of the independence and prosperity of Spain, see the country involved in an unnecessary war, which must seriously impede the development of its resources.

Señor Calderon replied that, whatever might be the feelings of Her Majesty's Government, they had caused much embarrassment to the Spanish Government by the premature publication of the diplomatic correspondence between the two Governments, which had appeared in the London "Gazette" of the 8th instant; and what he had foreseen and feared had now happened, namely, that the assurances given to Her Majesty's Government have been represented by the French Press, and by the adversaries of the Government in Spain, as engagements wrung by English arrogance from Spanish pusillanimity.

I said that the correspondence must be judged on its own merits, and not by the hostile representations of a fraction of the Spanish, or the insidious remarks of the French, Press; and that there was nothing arrogant in Her Majesty's Government asking explanations in a question of deep interest to England, which was involved in a war between Spain and Morocco, or humiliating to Her Catholic Majesty's Government in affording them.

Señor Calderon then complained that your Lordship had not published all the correspondence, and intimated that, in his own defence, he would be obliged to give publicity to the note which he had addressed to me on the 17th ultimo, explanatory of the understanding on which he had granted me the assurances contained in his note of the 6th ultimo.

I told him that your Lordship had only published what was actually necessary to satisfy public opinion in England as to the guarantees which had been secured for the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Gibraltar: but that I was sure there was nothing in the correspondence which had passed between the two Governments which Her Majesty's Government would object to his making public, if he thought fit; adding that, when Parliament met, if the question continued to excite the interest of the public in England, it was far from improbable that Her Majesty's Goverment would also be obliged to lay more of the correspondence before the Houses; and as he had said that I could not have represented his intentions and statements fairly to your Lordship, I continued that I had no doubt he would be satisfied, if he ever came to read my reports of them.

I said, however, that, whatever I had written to give Her Majesty's Government confidence in the intentions of Her Catholic Majesty's Government had been counteracted by the language of Don Juan Blanco del Valle, whose assurances respecting the views of his Government had been so often inconsistent with their subsequent demands that Her Majesty's Government could not be expected to see, without some uneasiness, the great preparations which Spain was making for an apparently inadequate object.

As he also observed that war might have been prevented, even on the 18th ultimo, I replied that the Moorish Government had then lost all confidence in Señor Blanco's assurances; and though I had then endeavoured to satisfy them, through Mr. Hay, that the boundary claimed by Spain would not include more than two or three miles of country, they would not accept this explanation unless Mr. Hay would guarantee its correctness, and he had declined to sanction anything after the manner in which he had been already deceived by Señor Blanco.

I also hinted that, if the published correspondence placed the Spanish Government in a bad position, it was mainly owing to their want of frankness at

first, and their endeavouring to secure themselves against any animadversions on the part of their political adversaries, without having any regard to the Parliamentary responsibility of Her Majesty's Government.

Our conversation concluded by his Excellency observing, that Her Majesty's Government had evidently never understood or appreciated sufficiently the desire of the Spanish Government and of the Queen to cultivate the most intimate relations with England, with a view to future possible eventualities in Europe; and he said he deeply regretted that the manner in which this question had been treated had wounded the national pride, and excited the deepest hostility throughout the country towards Great Britain.

Señor Calderon Collantes' observations on this point do not exaggerate the truth, and I understand that nothing can exceed the indignation which has been aroused by the published correspondence.

Yesterday several newspapers were seized for the violence of their articles on this subject. One of these articles in an ultra-Liberal paper declared that they would prefer the return of Marshal Narvaez to power to seeing the honour and dignity of the country betrayed by the subserviency of the present Government to foreign dictation.

It has also been necessary to restrain the Moderado press, which is not less hostile to the Spanish Government than to England. The Marquis of Molins, likewise one of the leaders of that party, in a late debate in the Senate, declared that Spain had suffered more from British friendship than she had ever done from French hostility.

This state of things may prove dangerous to the Government, unless some signal successes are soon gained in Africa, and it does not seem that Marshal O'Donnell's preparations are yet sufficiently advanced to move the army.

Persons begin to speak of the imprudence of the war. The Corps of Grandees, who had agreed to offer the Government a contribution of 200,000*l*., find that it will be inconvenient, if not impossible, to do so. An Order of Knighthood at Seville, who promised to equip and maintain a brigade of Artillery, also find that it is easier to promise than to perform; and I am told that among the thinking classes of the country there is a daily-increasing feeling of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government, and a dread of the evils to which it may give rise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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No. 94.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 23.)

(No. 77.)

My Lord, *Tangier, November* 10, 1859.

HER Majesty's Consul, Mr. Reade, returned here on the night of the 8th, having brought with him overland the British Consular Agent, Mr. Benshiton, and his family.

Mr. Reade informs me that he had caused to be arrested at Arzyla one of the Moors who had threatened violence towards the family of the Consular Agent; and the Pasha of Tangier has, at my demand, promised to arrest and imprison two other Moors, his accomplices.

It appears that Benshiton was Vice-Consul for Spain, as well as British Consular Agent, and he was accused of having made signals at night with lanterns to a Spanish steamer, which, since the rupture of relations between Spain and Morocco, has been stationed at Laraiche and Arzyla. The accusation was unfounded, though, in consequence of some feast, Benshiton had hung, one night, a lantern in the upper part of his house.

Mr. Reade was very well received by the Governor and inhabitants, and he recommended to their care and protection the Hebrew families that remained in Arzyla, and that in case the town was attacked, they should be allowed to depart in safety to the inland town of Alcassar. The Mahomedan Elders assured Mr. Reade his wishes should be attended to, and that Jews should not be molested. Mr. Reade speaks very highly of the good conduct of the escort of the Sultan's Bokhary Guard who accompanied him.

Mr. Benshiton and his family have decided on remaining in this country,



and I have requested the friendly inhabitants of the village of Mediona, situated on Cape Spartel, to give them a hut, and to protect them till the war is over.

I hope your Lordship will be pleased to signify your approval of Mr. Reade's conduct, as I have been much satisfied with the manner in which he volunteered to make this inland journey to secure the safety of the Consular Agent and his Hebrew family, at a moment when it was to be apprehended Mr. Reade might himself incur considerable risk.

The Admiral has informed me that all the British Vice-Consuls on the coast and the British merchants have arrived at Gibraltar in Her Majesty's ships, excepting the Acting British Vice-Consul at Rabat, Mr. Wooldridge. At Saffee, the Admiral informs me there was considerable agitation on the embarkation of the British subjects, and that the Commander, the Honourable Fitzgerald Foley, of Her Majesty's ship "Coquette" behaved admirably on the occasion. I have not, as yet, received any report of what took place from the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Carstensen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 95.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.*—(*Received November* 23.)

(No. 79.)

My Lord, *Tangier, November* 12, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the translation of an Arabic letter I have addressed to the Moorish Minister, recommending that the war should be prosecuted by the Moorish troops according to the humane usages of modern Christian warfare. I trust your Lordship will not disapprove of my having taken this step.

The Moorish Minister has promised to write to the Prince Mulai Abbas, and to support the counsels I have offered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure in No. 95.

*Mr. D. Hay to Seid Mohamed Khateeb.*

(Translation.)

(After the usual preamble.) *Tangier, November* 12, 1859.

AS hostilities are about to be entered upon by the Spanish naval and military forces against this country, we wish to offer some counsels through you to His Highness Mulai Abbas, the Prince commanding the Sultan's forces in the Northern Provinces, regarding the conduct of the war on the part of the Moorish troops, which we are confident will receive an attentive hearing, and be viewed with the same friendly spirit by His Majesty and the Moorish Government as that with which it is given. The present war has already attracted the notice of all European Governments towards Morocco. You know that the Moorish population is accused by Europeans of having, in past times, perpetrated barbarities, especially during periods of warfare—a practice which Christian nations have long abandoned. You know that the sympathy of all Christian nations will be roused in favour of the Spaniards, if proofs can be given by the latter that the Moorish Government does not make every effort in its power to mitigate the horrors of war; but, on the other hand, you may be assured that, if the Sultan, in his wisdom, gives orders that the war should be conducted by the Moors according to the more humane practices of modern warfare, it will call down the admiration and approbation of all Europe, and especially of the Government and people of Great Britain. It appears to us this desirable object may, in a great measure, be obtained by the offer of a reward for every live Spanish officer or soldier who may be taken prisoner. The amount of this reward might be increased according to the rank of the prisoner. When

prisoners are taken they should not be ill treated, but sent to some town with proper guards, and be fed with bread and meat. Officers ought to be lodged in better apartments than the soldiers, and if they give their formal or written parole not to escape, they should be allowed their liberty within the town to which they are sent, and be housed and fed according to their respective ranks.

The Commander of the Spanish forces will, no doubt, follow the same humane course; but if he should not do so, and Moorish prisoners are put to death, let not the Prince alter his conduct, and we can assure you the sympathy of all Christendom will be with that Power which shows most humanity. The mutual massacre of prisoners would increase the spirit of animosity roused on both sides, and the war by sea and by land might be prolonged to an indefinite period; whereas humanity towards prisoners leads to friendly feelings, facilitates amicable communication between the combatants, and tends greatly to bring about hereafter an understanding between the two Governments, especially if any Spanish leaders of note are taken prisoners by the Moors. You know also that officers and soldiers are the mere tools of war, but not the originators of it; and, therefore, uncalled for vengeance should not be visited upon them.

The Moorish Government has made praiseworthy exertions, by reasonable concessions, to prevent this war. His Majesty the Sultan, desires an honourable peace, for His Majesty has at heart the welfare of his subjects, and has no object in prolonging the war, and therefore will, in his wisdom, we are persuaded, approve of the counsels we have offered, and thus leave a door open for the renewal of friendly relations between the two countries.

We beg of you to communicate this letter to Mulai Abbas, with our best respects, and shall be obliged by your letting us know the tenour of his reply.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 96.

*Mr. D. Hay to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 23.)*

(No. 80.)

My Lord, *Tangier, November 13, 1859.*

ON the 10th instant I received a visit from two British merchants, Mr. Grace, of Mogador, and Mr. Forde, of Saffee, who had been granted a passage, on board Her Majesty's ship "Lapwing," by the Admiral, in order that they might have an opportunity of conferring with me regarding the embarkation of the property of British merchants at the ports not blockaded by the Spaniards.

I received also a despatch from the Governor of Gibraltar, of which I annex a copy, on the same subject; and Admiral Fanshawe informed me, in a private letter, that he was disposed to aid the British merchants, as far as weather and circumstances might permit, in the embarkation of their property.

Your Lordship will best be apprized of the steps I have taken to meet the wishes of the British merchants, as far as I think it consistent with prudence to do so, by the contents of the accompanying copy of a despatch I addressed to the British Vice-Consuls of the Morocco ports now residing at Gibraltar, and which I forwarded, under flying-seal, through the Admiral, in a letter of which the inclosed document is a copy.

It would be difficult for me to come to a decision here upon such a subject as to the prudence of the return of the British merchants, or as to the protection which the Admiral could afford British subjects at this time of the year on an open coast; ignoring also, as I do, whether hostilities will be extended all along the Moorish ports, or be confined solely to the northern ports. I have, therefore, as your Lordship will observe, recommended that a decision should be come to at Gibraltar by the Admiral, after conferring with the Vice-Consuls; and I trust that your Lordship will not disapprove of the course I have taken in this matter, and of the instructions I have given the Vice-Consuls for their guidance.

The British merchants requested me to make a representation to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, to obtain an assurance from the Spanish Government that British trade would not be interfered with on the non-blockaded



ports. I told the merchants I wished them to put in writing whatever representation they had to make on this subject, but up to the present time I have not received any further communication from them.

During the interview the merchants expressed themselves as being very grateful to the Admiral and to myself for the facilities afforded them for embarkation, but they also hinted that their departure from this country had been premature.

I replied, by reminding the merchants of the tenour of the instructions I had sent to the Vice-Consuls on the 25th October,* which I had directed the latter to communicate to British subjects, and after consulting with them decide whether it was desirable that British subjects should embark. I told the merchants that I had detained Her Majesty's ships here several days, and had deferred, as long as I thought it was prudent to do so, dispatching these vessels: but when the declaration of war was made, when Europeans were embarked here, and when the French Chargé d'Affaires had already sent ships of war to the coast to embark French subjects, I thought I should be incurring a very heavy responsibility in not affording to British subjects timely protection and assistance for leaving the country; and that had I not done so, and any catastrophe had occurred, the British merchants would, probably, have been the first to charge the Admiral, and especially myself, with remissness in the necessary precautionary measures to be taken. I reminded them also, that at the time Her Majesty's ships were sent, we ignored what ports would be blockaded, and at what port hostilities would be commenced.

The British merchants had no reply to make to these observations, but I think it right to report to your Lordship the language I held upon that occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

P.S.—I further have the honour to transmit the copy of a letter addressed to me, on the 8th instant, by the Chairman of the Gibraltar Exchange Committee, inclosing copy of a letter he had addressed to the Governor of Gibraltar, regarding the trade with Morocco, and also the copy of the reply I made to the Chairman.

J. H. D. H.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 96.

*Mr. Freeling to Mr. D. Hay.*

Sir, *Secretary's Office, Gibraltar, November 9, 1859.*

I AM directed by the Governor to inform you that, owing to the absence of any ships of war off the unblockaded ports of Morocco, all trade from thence with Gibraltar and, I believe, with England is stopped. Trade would be continued were there English ships of war to protect it, and his Excellency imagines that an application from you to the Admiral for ships would be attended with success, and restore public confidence; and he, therefore, brings the matter under your notice that you may take such steps as you may deem advisable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) S. FREELING, *Colonial Secretary.*

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Inclosure 2 in No. 96.

*Circular addressed by Mr. D. Hay to the British Vice-Consuls at Mogador, Saffee, and Mazagan.*

Gentlemen, *Tangier, November 13, 1859.*

A DEPUTATION of two British merchants, Mr. W. Grace, of Mogador, and Mr. Forde, of Saffee, came over here, on the 9th instant, in Her Majesty's ship "Lapwing," with the permission of Admiral Fanshawe, to confer with me

* See Inclosure 4 in No. 65.

regarding the embarkation of goods belonging to British subjects at the south-western ports of Morocco which are not blockaded by the Spanish forces. These gentlemen computed the value of moveable British property still remaining in this country to be about 100,000*l*. They stated some British vessels were still lying in the Moorish roadsteads ready to embark property, and that other vessels would be chartered for the same purpose if the facilities they asked for could be afforded by the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces and by myself. They requested that I should obtain letters from the Moorish Minister acquainting the Governors of your respective ports that those ports are not blockaded by the Spaniards, and desiring the Governors to facilitate, as long as that state of things continues, the mercantile transactions of British subjects. They also requested I would ask the Admiral to send a British vessel of war to the Moorish ports from time to time to protect the interests of British subjects.

I received also a communication from his Excellency the Governor supporting the wishes of British merchants in the latter respect.

I replied to the deputation that I would obtain the letters of recommendation they asked for to the Moorish Governors from the Viceroy, Mulai Abbas, and which I now herewith inclose. I wrote also to the Admiral to support their wishes about the visit of a vessel of war to the western ports, if the state of the weather, and the information his Excellency might receive, permitted him to do so. I told the merchants, however, distinctly that on returning to the Moorish ports they would do so at their own risk and responsibility, and that they would hardly be authorized to bring forward claims against the Moorish Government for any personal injury or insult they might receive in consequence of their having returned amongst the Mahometan population, with the previous knowledge of the excitement that had prevailed at some of the ports at the moment of their late embarkation, and the general irritation against Europeans in consequence of war having been declared by Spain against Morocco.

The Viceroy, I am assured, has written in strong terms to the Governors of the ports regarding the protection and safety of British merchants; but he recommends that no British subject on his arrival on board a vessel should land at any port until he receive a communication from the authorities on shore that they can insure him protection from the excited populace.

I have informed the British merchants that I did not feel authorized to direct Her Majesty's Consular officers to expose their personal safety to considerable risk by returning to their respective posts, unless the British Admiral could obtain from the commander of the Spanish naval forces an assurance that the ports to the south of Laraiche would not be blockaded or attacked, or that a similar assurance was subsequently obtained through Her Majesty's Government from the Court at Madrid.

This letter I send under flying seal to Admiral Fanshawe, and I have to direct that you will call upon his Excellency, and, after imparting all the information you possess regarding the state of feeling, towards Christians, of the inhabitants of your respective ports, the amount of British property you believe to exist at each port, and, generally, your views regarding the prudence of a renewal of trade under existing circumstances (if a British vessel of war be enabled to visit from time to time the non-blockaded ports), you will consult with the Admiral, and be chiefly guided by the advice he may be pleased to give you regarding the delivery of the inclosed letters for the Governors to those merchants who may take upon themselves to return at their own responsibility and risk to the ports of their late residence.

The Acting British Vice-Consul at Rabat had not left his post by last accounts. The Governor at Rabat being the chief authority also at Dar-al-baida, the letter is addressed to him regarding British subjects at both ports.

Whatever is decided about the delivery of the Viceroy's letter to merchants going to the ports of Mazagan, Saffee, and Mogador, may, in the absence of Vice-Consuls of Rabat and of Dar-al-Baida, be decided also by you regarding the two latter ports.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 96.

*Mr. D. Hay to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe.*

Sir, *Tangier, November* 13, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, under flying seal, a despatch I have addressed to the British Vice-Consuls at Mogador, Saffee, and Mazagan, who are now residing at Gibraltar.

As a perusal of that despatch will best acquaint your Excellency with the object I have in view in addressing those gentlemen, I will not trouble you with a recapitulation of that despatch.

I have, therefore, only to beg that you will send for the Vice-Consuls, and, after hearing their respective opinions on the subject, be pleased to assist them with your valuable advice as to the suggested return of British merchants to the non-blockaded ports of this Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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Inclosure 4 in No. 96.

*Mr. Drinkwater to Mr. D. Hay.*

Sir, *Gibraltar, November* 8, 1859.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to you copy of a letter which, on behalf of this Chamber, I have this day addressed to the Governor of Gibraltar, with respect to the importance of keeping open our communication with the ports not blockaded by the Spanish naval force; and I have to request that you will be pleased to use your powerful influence with the Admiral commanding for the adoption of all the measures which you may deem adviable for that purpose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. DRINKWATER,
*Chairman of the Exchange Committee and Chamber of Commerce.*

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Inclosure 5 in No. 96.

*Mr. Drinkwater to Lieutenant-General Sir W. Codrington.*

Sir, *Gibraltar, November* 8, 1859.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency that, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the merchants connected with Morocco, a representation was made from this Chamber, on the 1st instant, to Vice-Admiral Fanshawe, to the effect that as there had been no official declaration of war or of a state of blockade, necessary protection should be afforded to all British vessels laden with lawful merchandize to and from the coast of Morocco. The seizure of one British vessel on her voyage to Tangier, and the detention of another bound to Tetuan, had already created uneasiness and alarm. The urgency of the case, and the extreme importance of the interests involved in the question of peace or war, necessitated the earliest possible communication with the Admiral himself.

But as all doubt upon the subject has been dispelled by your official notification of the blockade of the ports of Tangier, Tetuan, and Laraiche, by a Spanish naval force, there is ample time for this Chamber to appeal to your Excellency, and to entreat you to communicate, without loss of time, both with the Admiral commanding, and also with Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires for Morocco, so that, in concert with them, all the necessary measures may be adopted for the freedom of trade and safety of British property at those ports which are still left open.

The foreign trade of Morocco, according to last official returns, amounted to 2,000,000*l*. sterling per annum, and this has chiefly been carried on for British account. It is, therefore, of the deepest consequence to all the interests

concerned that every possible assistance should be given, so that no unnecessary or preventible injury should be caused to British subjects by reason of the present war between Spain and Morocco.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. DRINKWATER,
*Chairman of Exchange Committee and Chamber of Commerce.*

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Inclosure 6 in No. 96.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Drinkwater.*

Sir, *Tangier, November* 10, 1859.

I HAVE received your letter of the 8th instant, transmitting a copy of a letter which you had addressed to the Governor of Gibraltar on behalf of the Exchange Committee of that place, requesting his Excellency to use his influence with the Admiral commanding in bringing about measures for facilitating the communication by British vessels with those Moorish ports which are not at present blockaded by the Spanish naval forces, and asking for my assistance for the same purpose.

I shall be happy to do all in my power to forward the wishes of the mercantile community of Gibraltar in this respect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 97.

*Mr. D. Hay to Mr. Hammond.*—(*Received November* 23.)

(Private.)

My dear Hammond, *Tangier, November* 13, 1859.

AFTER all my labours in vain, it has been a great satisfaction for me to find that Lord John Russell has been pleased to approve of my conduct. I received last night the approving despatch No. 47 of the 2nd instant.

I have received Lord J. Russell's telegram of the 8th instant; and I thank his Lordship for kindly thinking of our safety, and authorizing us to leave when we think we are in danger.

My despatches Nos. 79 and 80 of this date will show that our presence has been and may be of some use to British and general interests. If the Spaniards were to take Tangier I should not like to remain in the town, as the Spanish officers and soldiery would no doubt be inclined to insult me, after the scurrilous abuse the editors of the Spanish papers have indulged in against me, without having the slightest grounds for doing so, unless it be that I tried to prevent hostilities by obtaining from this Government all reasonable concessions.

As the Viceroy has promised me an escort into the country, and as the neighbouring villagers are all my friends, and as I suppose the wish of Her Majesty's Government that I leave the country is solely to be attributed to their desire to secure my safety and that of the gentlemen attached to me, I shall remain at my tents as long as I can do so with prudence.

I conclude, if the war lasts, and as Her Majesty's Government may desire to continue to maintain their relations with the present Sultan (as long as any Government exists), if I cannot remain here, I conclude the Mission will be transferred to some other part of the Empire if it can be done so with safety. Indeed, I hope British counsels may, when the time comes, facilitate a negotiation for terminating the war.

The news of the French successes on the frontier have been received, though other versions are given less favourable than French bulletins, but which I have begged Khateeb not to believe, and to continue to urge the Sultan not to send a man of the Royal army to oppose the invaders of the Moorish territory. I hope the French will finish their work, and retire soon; and I trust, though outward appearances are against the sincerity of their assurances that they give no support to the Spaniards, that the Moors will have, ere long, good proofs of their



sincerity by the withdrawal of the invading force, and that no further encouragement be given to the Pretender, Mulai Abderrahman.

O'Donnell, I hear, is at Cadiz, and talks of celebrating the Queen's birthday, on the 19th instant, in a Moorish town!

I do not think Tangier will be taken on the sea side, unless it be after a bombardment *à la distance* of many days; for the Don has not a squadron of reserve, and the new Tangier guns are very heavy, and not badly managed.

On the land side the town is very weak; but the Moors would never abandon their town without making a stand, and would have revolted against the Sultan if he had followed the advice suggested to me by Mr. Buchanan, of "Scythian warfare," and of conceding Tangier by withdrawing the armed population.

The Moors will not, I think, make much resistance before a disciplined force and cannon in the plains; but the Don will soon be harassed to death if he attempts to march at all into the interior.

Khateeb informed me the other day he had received the Sultan's reply about the cession of Bullones, and His Majesty had said it should not be made until all his subjects were "headless."

Whilst I write, I am informed heavy firing is heard in the direction of Arzyla. Seventeen guns were fired by a Spanish vessel last night in that neighbourhood. It is possible the Spaniards intend to make some hostile move in that direction; but the Moors are prepared for any feint, and know that heavy firing may be intended to draw off forces from real place of attack.

Some of their troops are encamped on strategical points, ready to move within three hours to any point that may be attacked.

The great hereditary Saint of the country, Mulai Absolam, arrived here to-day, and the Moorish enthusiasm for the war is at the highest pitch. The Moorish artillerymen, to amuse the Shereef, fired their large guns at a target, and the practice was tolerably good.

I hear Mr. Buchanan has informed the Governor of Gibraltar that the Spanish Government had complained British officers had been instructing the Moors in gunnery. The whole story is a fudge. I believe one day, however, some officer had pointed a gun for fun, and had taken a shot at the target.

If the Spaniards begin to feel apprehensions on such grounds, I think they must have little confidence in themselves.

I next expect to hear that I and my party here are four Todlebens, and, as in our confined space at present, for promenades, we walk sometimes around the ramparts and batteries, and chat in a friendly manner with the natives, that Tangier has been rendered a second Sebastopol, under our able direction as engineers; whereas we know as much about fortifications as cheese-making.

I wish the Don would lose no time, and begin his work.

Though my family is badly lodged at Gibraltar, and very uncomfortable, I have to pay, in consequence of the high price of everything at the garrison, some 3*l.* a-day. I hope Her Majesty's Government will take all this into consideration hereafter, if the war be prolonged, for we shall be put to a terrible expense.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.

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No. 98.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. D. Hay.*

(No. 55.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 25, 1859.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 79 of the 12th instant, I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the letter which you addressed on that day to the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs, with the object of leading the Moorish Government to prosecute the war with Spain in accordance with the principles of humanity and mercy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 99.

*Señor Collantes to Señor Isturiz.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Señor Isturiz, December .)*

(Translation.)

Excellency, *Madrid, November* 26, 1859.

IN a conference which the British Minister had with me on the 14th instant, in handing to me, by command of his Government, copy of the despatch of Lord John Russell of the 15th of October, he left with me a copy of the despatch which the aforesaid Foreign Secretary of Her Britannic Majesty addressed to Mr. Buchanan on the 22nd September.

A question which had arisen recently respecting the meaning of words contained in the latter of those documents, gave occasion to the British Minister to say to me, the day before yesterday, that the delivery to me on the 14th instant of Lord John Russell's despatch of the 22nd September last, was to be considered as official, inasmuch as these were the commands which he had from his Government.

Such declaration, which gives an especial character to that act, obliges Her Majesty's Government to make certain explanations which, in its judgment, are requisite to give to those acts their true value, and, in the publicity in which everything must necessarily be held, which belongs to the amicable correspondence carried on between the Cabinets of Madrid and London, relative to the war between Spain and Morocco, to prevent opinion from being led into error in the appreciation of what has taken place.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, considers it to be its duty to state—

1st. That up to the 14th instant, twenty-four days after having, by my note of the 21st October last, closed the correspondence with the Representative of Great Britain, the Queen's Government received no official communication of the instructions sent by Lord John Russell to Mr. Buchanan on the 22nd September, of this year.

2ndly. That, therefore, the Spanish Government cannot take any account of the estimate made in that document, of the interests which, in the opinion of Great Britain, were concerned in the question.

3rdly. That not only could it not take them into consideration in replying to Mr. Buchanan on the 6th and 21st of October; but when the British Representative brought forward, in his first official note of the 27th September, a part of the text of the instructions of the 22nd of that month, the Queen's Government declared that it could not accept the document, which the British Minister took back, being persuaded that, although the Spanish Government might have no objection to repeat its former spontaneous declarations, it would not in any way accept the arguments employed and the intimations made by Mr. Buchanan in his aforesaid first note of the 27th September, as a cause of its declarations, nor the exclusive interests appealed to in the same, as the grounds of its conduct.

4thly. That Her Majesty's Government, in making the declarations of the 7th and 21st October, confined itself, as it has repeatedly said, to stating once more its former intentions, and to the manifestation of its respect for the general interests, which it considered to be always worthy of especial consideration.

I request your Excellency will be pleased to read and to give a copy of this despatch to Her Britannic Majesty's Foreign Secretary of State.

By Royal command &c.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

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No. 100.

*Lord J. Russell to Mr. Buchanan.*

(No. 166.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 13, 1859.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for any remarks which you may have to offer thereupon, a copy of a despatch from Señor Calderon Collantes to



M. Isturiz, and which has been placed in my hands by the latter, upon the subject of the interview which you had with Señor Collantes on the 14th of November.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

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